



THE FOUNDATION AND GROWTH OF  
THE BRITISH EMPIRE



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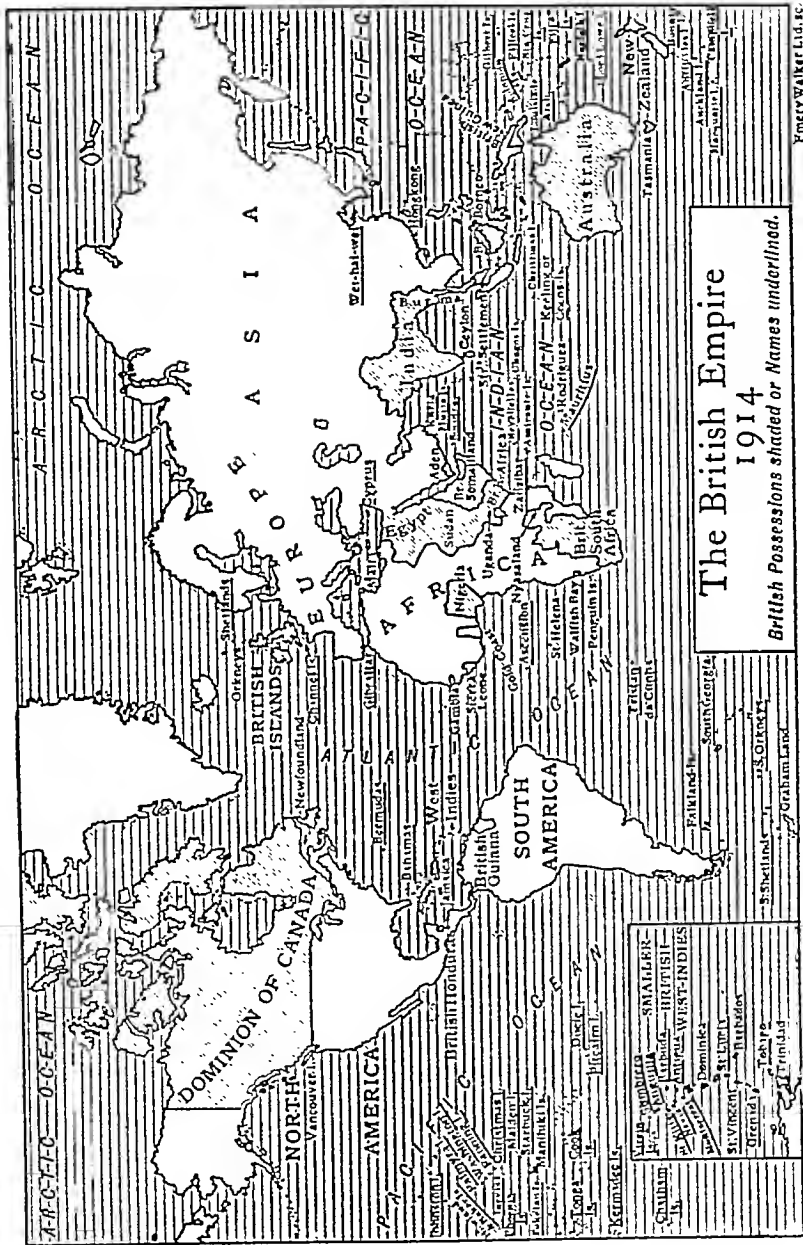
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THE  
FOUNDATION & GROWTH  
OF THE  
BRITISH EMPIRE

BY  
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AUTHOR OF 'MARITIME ENTERPRISE, 1485-1558,' ETC.

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## PREFACE

THIS short account of the foundation and progress of the British Empire is intended primarily for use as an introductory course in the study of the subject.

It is in my opinion a mistake in such a text-book to deal extensively in generalisations and the discussion of abstract principles. What is necessary to leave a permanent impression on the mind of a possibly indifferent student is an abundance of vivid detail carefully selected so as to concentrate attention on the salient features of the story. In this respect it is important to discriminate between the requirements of the advanced and the elementary student. Seeley's *Growth of British Policy*, for example, is fascinating reading for one who already has the facts at his fingers' ends, but it would be of little interest to the average boy at school. If, therefore, one can succeed in so handling the subject that it will be studied from interest rather than compulsion, it will be safe to leave in great measure to the teacher the task of deducing general principles and correlating the facts. A good teacher, indeed, will stimulate his pupils to do this for themselves.

Two other points my own experience impels me to emphasise: it is essential that a chronological framework shall be retained in the memory, for which purpose a list of important dates has been appended to each chapter;

and no attempt should be made to read any part of our Empire story without the aid of a map of the region under consideration. Maps to illustrate special subjects have been inserted where necessary ; elsewhere a good school atlas will be found sufficient.

J. A. WILLIAMSON.

### PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION (1923)

Part IV. has been entirely re-written on a more extended scale, and has been brought up-to-date.

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## INTRODUCTION

THE remote origins of the British Empire must be looked for long before the discovery of America or the sea passage to India, long before Englishmen had begun to dream of interesting themselves in any land beyond the confines of Christendom. The chief sower of the seed from which such a mighty tree has sprung was the mediaeval merchant, who steadily pushed his quest of gain further and further afield regardless of, or even profiting by, the storms of chivalric warfare.

He it was who, by growing rich, acquired a voice in the councils of kings ; who drew a profit from the disasters of the Crusades ; who taught his humbly born countrymen that if a high career was denied them at home, wealth and power might nevertheless be gained by adventures across the seas. Foreign trade, in fact, found an outlet for the energies of that class of ambitious men, always particularly prominent in the English race, who cared neither for the miseries of war, nor for the dull seclusion of the Church, nor for the prosaic life of the home-staying craftsman. The romance of Dick Whittington typifies the career of many another man unknown to fame.

During the two centuries following the Norman Conquest the English became consciously a nation with distinctive language, laws and constitution. The reign of the great law-giver, Edward I., may be said to mark the completion of this process of fusion. At its close the country was possessed of a stable and sensible system of government, representative of the middle as well as of the upper classes, and sensitive to a large extent to the demands of public

## INTRODUCTION

opinion. Such a regime, vigorous yet flexible, was naturally conducive to the advance of commerce, and the latter accordingly became, by the close of the Middle Ages, an important factor in the national life.

English commerce, however, in spite of having made a good beginning under the Plantagenet kings, was nevertheless destined to be for some time but a junior competitor to three mighty groups of rivals which overshadowed it in age and experience.

European  
commerce  
in the Middle  
Ages.

These were: (1) The Hanseatic League, consisting of the free German cities on the shores of the North Sea and the Baltic. This League sought always for a monopoly of the North Sea trade and fisheries. It also controlled the overland trade through Poland and Russia to Persia and the Middle East. (2) The great manufacturing cities of the Low Countries, Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, and afterwards Antwerp. Here were made most of the cloth, armour, weapons and hardware needed by northern Europe. (3) The trading cities of Italy, of which Venice, Genoa and Florence were the most important. The Italian merchants and sailors had in their hands the entire control of the trade between the Mediterranean and the north of Europe.

It was a rare occurrence in the Middle Ages for an English ship to pass through the Straits of Gibraltar. The Italians supplied England and Flanders with eastern fabrics and spices, which they obtained in the marts of the Levant, with Malmsey wines from the Mediterranean islands, and with superfine manufactured goods from the workshops of their own cities.

England then had at the outset but a slight hold upon the mediaeval trading system. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in spite of rebuffs she did her best to increase it. She possessed two natural advantages in the struggle. The first and greatest was that English wool was absolutely essential in the manufacture of the best kinds of cloth. It had peculiar properties not to be found in the produce of the sheep of other lands. When the significance of this fact came to be realised, England was in a position

to point a pistol at the heads of two of her competitors, the Italians and the Flemings, who lived largely by the manufacture of cloth. The other advantage lay in the tin and lead mines of England producing, although in comparatively small quantities, metals for which the demand in Europe always exceeded the supply.

Naturally enough it was the trade in these articles which was first exploited by English merchants. At some time in the thirteenth century—tradition says in the reign of Henry III.—the traders dealing in wool, hides, lead and tin were banded together

The Merchants of the Staple.

under the name of the Merchants of the Staple. They gradually acquired a monopoly of selling the commodities named, and held their mart or staple at first in Flanders and afterwards in various English ports, whither foreign buyers were obliged to resort for their supplies. After the capture of Calais in 1347 the staple was removed thither, and so remained until the loss of the town in 1558. The monopoly of a company was necessary under mediaeval trading conditions for two reasons. (1) It gave the merchants the advantage of mutual support and protection, and ensured that all should obey rules framed in the common interest. (2) It facilitated the collection of customs dues by the King's officers. In return for the revenue thus gained, the Crown gave the company its support when involved in disputes with foreigners. These advantages alone made trade possible in days of international lawlessness. Individual merchants could not hope to obtain them; consequently it is found that, with certain exceptions, mediaeval traders tended always to band themselves into companies, to negotiate collectively with governments, and to secure monopolies by which they might exclude non-members from the enjoyment of their hard-won privileges.

While foreign trade was thus being organised, the progress of good government at home and the extinction of feudal anarchy were bringing into prominence a class of town-dwelling craftsmen quite distinct from the peasants and landowners who composed feudal society.

These craftsmen, finding plentiful supplies of raw wool ready to hand, began to make it into cloth, and thus inaugurated the earliest of English manufactures. For several centuries English cloth was a rough, unfinished article, not skilfully dyed or dressed. The cloth finishing processes long remained the secret of the Flemish craftsmen, but the latter found the product of English weavers a convenient basis on which to exercise their skill. Accordingly towards the end of the thirteenth century a new export trade sprang up—that of despatching half-manufactured English cloth to the Low Countries.

From the outset this traffic seems to have been mainly in the hands of English exporters. Like the Merchants of The Staple, they formed themselves into a company under the name of the Merchant Adventurers. Pushing energetically into the Low Countries they obtained grants of privileges from the ruling powers there, and held their marts at fixed dates in the great Netherlands cities—at Bruges at first and latterly at Antwerp. From the English Crown they obtained charters allowing them to frame rules for their trade, to elect a governor and council to carry them out, to fine and imprison delinquents, and to exclude non-members of the company from taking part in the trade. The earliest charter now extant embodying these privileges is that granted by Henry IV. in 1407, but it is probable that the privileges themselves were enjoyed for more than a century previous to that date.

The English cloth exporters did not limit their energies to the Netherlands trade. They began also to sell their produce in the cities of northern Germany, Denmark, and Scandinavia, where the rigorous winters no doubt gave rise to a considerable demand. The North Sea trade had hitherto been in the hands of the German merchants of the Hanseatic League—the Easterlings as they were called in England—and naturally the new competitors were regarded with dislike. At the opening of the fifteenth century, however, the Easterlings could not afford to quarrel with England, where they enjoyed con-

siderable privileges, and the English trade was successfully incorporated by charters from Henry IV. in 1404. Their terms were similar to those of the Merchant Adventurers, and the merchants trading under them came to be known as the Eastland Company.

A consideration of two other branches of oversea enterprise will complete the picture of the earliest stage of English expansion. In the days before the Reformation religious as well as economic rea-

fishery. sons caused fish to be an important item in the diet of all European nations. The chief fishing grounds of Northern Europe were the North Sea and the coasts of Iceland. On the latter, in particular, huge quantities of cod and other coarse fish were taken, salted down, and sold as stock-fish in the ports of Europe. Every spring an English fishing fleet set forth for this coast, returning with full holds in the autumn. Records show that when the trade was at its best the Iceland fishing fleet numbered close on 150 vessels of an average burden of about 70 tons. Such an industry must have been no inconsiderable factor in making England a sea-going nation.

The remaining avenue of mediaeval trade was the import of wines from Bordeaux. The duchy of Aquitaine came under the rule of English kings when Henry II. The Bordeaux wedded its heiress in the middle of the twelfth wine trade.

century. Although the area of English sway steadily contracted during the long wars, the capital itself was not lost until 1455. Englishmen fetching wine from Bordeaux were therefore almost in the position of trading with an English town. It is perhaps for this reason that the wine trade was never incorporated and monopolised as the cloth and wool trades were. Down to the end of the Middle Ages it remained free to all, and was largely frequented by the merchants of Bristol and Southampton as well as of London. About the year 1500 it is recorded that in the height of the wine-shipping season (November—February) there were as many as 8,000 Englishmen in Bordeaux at the same time.

The extension of commerce early rendered necessary special legislation for its control. The *Easterling* merchants obtained grants of privileges in England in time policy. the twelfth century, before the rise of the *English* trading companies. *Magna Charta* contained clauses with regard to the rights of foreign merchants. In the reign of Edward I. the customs were fixed on a permanent basis, and thenceforward the Crown derived a regular revenue both from the export of wool and the import of foreign goods. In 1381 the first Navigation Act of English history was passed by Richard II.'s Parliament. It stated that the trade of English merchants must be carried on exclusively in English ships, and it shows that the Government was alive to the importance of a strong mercantile marine. The same policy of fostering English commerce was vigorously pursued by Henry IV. and Henry V. The latter monarch also maintained a strong fleet of warships to serve as a nucleus upon which armed merchantmen might rally in time of war.

With the death of Henry V. (1422) the prospect rapidly changes. Under his feeble successor the interests of commerce were neglected. The ministers of the Crown were occupied with the disastrous wars in France, and with quarrels among themselves, and were quite unable to look after one of the most important interests of the nation. They even went so far as to sell off the warships of Henry V., and in a few years the English navy had entirely ceased to exist. The Wars of the Roses began as soon as the Hundred Years' War had ceased, and misgovernment became ever worse and worse. The natural consequence was that English commerce and shipping suffered a swift and prolonged depression. The Merchant Adventurers saw their privileges in the Low Countries invaded, and their numbers declined. The *Easterlings* of the Hanseatic League made open war upon the unfortunate merchants of the Eastland Company, whose trade was practically wiped out, while their rivals extorted increased privileges from the English

Crown. Pirates swarmed in the Channel and the North Sea, and there was no English fleet to hunt them down. The Navigation Act became a dead-letter. Even on the distant Iceland coast the English fishermen found their industry prohibited by the King of Denmark, the overlord of that island. The Yorkist kings are usually credited with having done something in the interests of commerce. No doubt their intentions were good, but their time was short, and there was no real improvement until the accession of Henry VII. in 1485.

#### SUMMARY OF ENGLISH MARITIME AFFAIRS TO 1485

1. The merchant was the pioneer of English expansion.
2. The commercial rivals of England were the Hanseatic League, the Flemings and the Italians.
3. English wool was indispensable in the manufacture of cloth.
4. In the thirteenth century two English trading companies came into existence: the Merchants of the Staple, exporting wool, and the Merchant Adventurers, exporting cloth.
5. The late Plantagenet and early Lancastrian kings fostered trade and sea power.
6. From the death of Henry V. to the accession of Henry VII there was a long period of depression in English trade, due to unsuccessful wars with France and civil wars in England.

#### IMPORTANT DATES

1363. The Wool Staple established at Calais.  
1381. Richard II.'s Navigation Act.  
1404. Henry IV.'s Charter to the Eastland Company.  
1407. Henry IV.'s Charter to the Merchant Adventurers.  
1474. Edward IV.'s treaty with the Hanseatic League granting it great privileges in England.  
1485. Battle of Bosworth, death of Richard III. and end of the Middle Ages in England.





## *PART I. THE TUDOR PERIOD, 1485-1603*

### THE AGE OF EXPERIMENTS

#### CHAPTER I

##### HENRY VII., 1485-1509

THE victory of Henry Tudor at Bosworth Field marks the final turning down of an unhappy page of English history bearing upon its surface a red record of unsuccessful foreign war, unruly ambitions on the part of the great nobles, and turbulent contentment for government on that of the commons. By the unremitting efforts of Henry VII. and his successors all this was changed. The power of the nobles was curbed, the Church was brought into subjection to the State, and the laws were enforced on all sections of the community. With the strengthening of the Government the country grew in power abroad and more than regained its lost influence among the States of Europe. Henry VII., while resolute to be obeyed, determined that his position should be based on a recognition by his people that his measures were in their true interest. He therefore set himself to revive, by all the means in his possession, the lost maritime prosperity of the country.

His first Parliament passed a Navigation Act differing in its scope from that of Richard II. The latter had been too comprehensive, and had on that account proved unworkable in practice. The new Act stated that all wines and woad imported from Bordeaux

Significance  
of the revolution  
of 1485

Navigation  
Act, 1485.

must be carried to this country only in English ships manned and owned by Englishmen. Thus at a stroke an important branch of foreign trade was placed exclusively in English hands.

Turning next to the North Sea, the King found English commerce on the point of vanishing altogether. The companies which Henry IV. had chartered for trade with Germany and the Baltic were practically in abeyance owing to unscrupulous Hanse competition. A state of war existed with Denmark, with the result that the English fishery in Iceland waters was prohibited. In the Low Countries the affairs of the Merchant Adventurers were in disorder, mainly on account of their disputes among themselves. Henry struggled with more or less success against these abuses. He was obliged to confirm the privileges of the Hanseatic League because he feared its maritime power, but he lost no opportunity of treating its members with severity on the smallest pretext, and was thus able to secure a little more respect for the rights of English merchants in German towns. This branch of trade, however, never really flourished until the power of the Hansa was definitely broken in the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1490 he negotiated a commercial treaty with Denmark which permitted the resumption of the Iceland fishery.

In Flanders matters were complicated by dynastic considerations. Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, the sister of The Magnus Richard III., had great influence there, and Intercursus. used it to encourage Perkin Warbeck and other pretenders to the English throne. Henry retaliated with decisive effect. He prohibited all trade between England and the Low Countries, and removed the headquarters of the Merchant Adventurers from Antwerp to Calais. The stoppage of trade bade fair to ruin the Flemish manufacturers, and their rulers were forced to give way. The result was the great commercial treaty known as the *Magnus Intercursus* (1496). By this Perkin Warbeck was thrown over and the rights of the English traders were confirmed. They were welcomed with joyous festivities

when they returned once more to Antwerp. The next step was to put an end to the abuses in the company itself by an Act of Parliament making all Englishmen free of its privileges on payment of a reasonable fee, and by a new charter (1505) strengthening the authority of the governor and council over the private members.

The above by no means exhausts the list of Henry's activities on behalf of maritime trade. He negotiated commercial treaties with Spain and the Italian states, and in his reign the English merchants first began to make regular voyages to the

The English  
in the Medi-  
terranean.

Mediterranean. The conveyance to England of the rich goods of the Levant—wines, silks, eastern spices and fabrics, and Italian luxuries of all kinds—had hitherto been carried on by the great trading galleys of Venice and the carracks of Genoa. Now, the progress of the civilised crafts in England permitted the construction of large and well-armed ships which could undertake this distant voyage, as formidable to the navigators of that day as the rounding of Cape Horn to our own. English merchants began to pass the "Straits of Marrok" in increasing numbers, and the King backed up their enterprise with his vigorous diplomacy, by which he secured to them fair treatment at the hands of the Italian powers.

Thus, with increasing boldness and experience, modern England began to serve its apprenticeship upon the seas, the necessary prelude to the foundation of the maritime empire which the future was to bring

The Age of  
Discovery.

forth. It was an age which felt the stirrings of vast new ideas, which was not content with dreaming dreams, but promptly sought to realise them. The year 1492 saw Christopher Columbus set sail across the unknown Atlantic with three small caravels. A few months later he returned in triumph with news of fair islands in the western sea. Already, for many years, the seamen of Portugal had been pushing steadily down the coast of Africa, discovering Cape Verde and the Gold Coast, and finally the Cape of Storms, which a far-seeing prince renamed the Cape of Good Hope.

At length, in 1498, Vasco da Gama capped all previous achievements by rounding the Cape and traversing the Indian Ocean until he set foot upon the shore of India itself, and so for the first time brought Europe into effective contact with the gorgeous East.

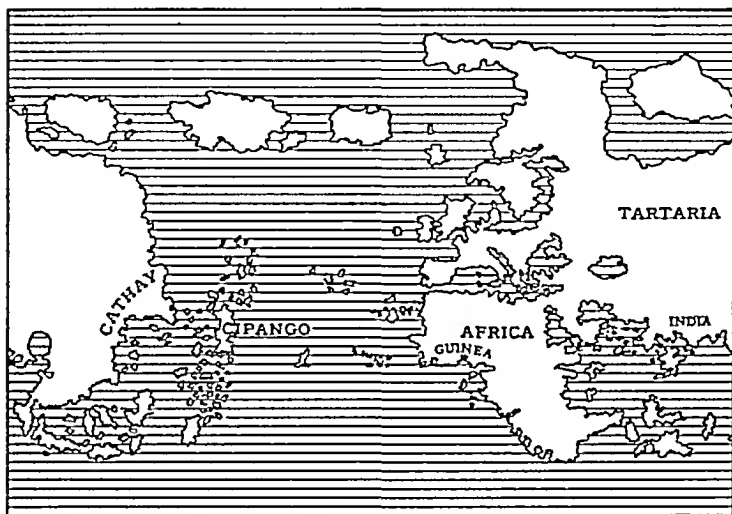


FIG. 1.—THE WORLD AS IMAGINED IN 1492.

An understanding of the condition of geographical knowledge at this time is essential, because it supplies the clue to the motives underlying these great movements. The best-informed minds of the time recognised the fact that our planet is spherical in shape, but they underestimated its size. They held that on its surface there was only one huge mass of land, consisting of the three continents of Europe, Africa and Asia. This land mass was thought to be surrounded on all sides by the ocean, in which lay many islands of relatively unimportant dimensions. No geographer had as yet any inkling of the existence of the continents now named North and South America.

Here, then, was the theory upon which the early explorers worked. The motive power which caused the wealthy to find money for their efforts was the hope of Cathay and commercial gain. The east of Asia was Cipango, thought to be a storehouse of incalculable riches. In the Middle Ages a few Christian travellers had reached it by the overland route. The best known of them, a Venetian named Marco Polo, spent many years at the court of the Emperor of China, and on his return wrote a description of that country, which he called Cathay. He had heard rumours of the existence of Japan (Cipango), although he had not been there in person. The spices and fabrics of the East were in great demand among the wealthy of Europe, but during the Middle Ages they arrived only in a thin stream by means of Asiatic caravans reaching the ports of the Levant—Alexandria, Beyrout and Smyrna. Hence they were distributed through Europe by the merchants of Venice and Genoa.

It was obvious that, if a sea route could be discovered to India and Cathay, an extremely profitable trade would be opened up by its pioneers. The Portuguese, as we have seen, sought to find this route by rounding the extremity of Africa. Before they had succeeded in doing so, another plan had been put to the test. Since the world was round and, so far as knowledge then went, contained only one land-mass, it was evident that by sailing due west from Europe a ship would arrive in time at the coast of Cathay. Columbus, on his return from his first voyage, claimed that he had found, not the mainland of Asia itself, but some islands lying near it. He confidently expected to reach Cathay itself in a subsequent expedition.

Whatever the result of the race between Spain and Portugal, Europe felt itself to be on the edge of great events. Commerce meant wealth, wealth meant power, and Henry VII. felt himself John Cabot. called upon to take a hand in the great game in progress. An instrument came ready to his hand. An Italian merchant named John Cabot had been for some years resident

at Bristol. He was a Genoese by birth, but had become a naturalised citizen of Venice, and so was generally described as a Venetian. In 1496 he petitioned the King for a charter permitting him and his sons to make discoveries. His plans are clearly stated in the letters of the time. He had, as a Venetian merchant, much experience of oriental merchandise, in search of which he had at one time travelled as far as the Red Sea ports. The most valuable goods, he was told, came from the east of Asia, but they changed hands so many times on the journey to Europe that the original producers never saw a European. All these middlemen's profits greatly enhanced the cost of the goods, and Cabot came to the conclusion that a direct route to Cathay by sea was well worth looking for. He claimed that the simplest way was to sail due west from the British Isles until the opposite shore of the ocean should be reached. That shore, he said, could be none other than the coast of Cathay. It is likely that Cabot was the original proposer of this daring scheme, although Columbus was the first man to have the opportunity of putting it into practice. Recent investigations have tended to show that Columbus' first voyage was made with no very clearly defined object other than that of discovering islands in the west, and that it was only after his return that he advanced the theory that Cathay might be discovered by this means. Cabot, on the other hand, seems to have been urging his plans for many years before he could obtain a hearing. He was a foreigner and poor, and therefore received scant encouragement. The reason for his residence in Bristol is unknown.

Henry VII.'s hands were to some extent tied in these matters. Political considerations rendered it necessary for him to be on good terms with Spain and the Pope. At the time of Columbus' first discoveries the Pope, Alexander VI. (Rodrigo Borgia), had been induced to issue a Bull dividing the whole world beyond the confines of Christendom into two spheres of influence, the one assigned to Spain and the other to Portugal. Spain was

The Papal  
division of  
the world  
between  
Spain and  
Portugal.

to have exclusive rights to all new lands to be discovered in the West, and Portugal to those in Africa and the East. Of course the pioneers of the two nations would ultimately meet on the other side of the globe, since they were going round it in opposite directions, but nothing was said about this contingency until it should actually arise. Henry, then, in sending John Cabot across the Atlantic, was infringing the right claimed by Spain, but he doubtless argued that, while the Spaniards had a good title to the lands they had already found, any undiscovered territories were fair game for any one who should be enterprising enough to seek them out. The Spanish sovereigns at the time contented themselves with little more than a verbal protest by their ambassador, but the whole incident strikes the keynote of English expansion in the Tudor period. It may be expressed as follows :

(1) Wherever they went English pioneers were regarded as interlopers by the Spaniards and the Portuguese. It was not admitted that they had any right to make discoveries or open up new trades. Englishmen had therefore to be hard fighters before they could be traders or explorers.

(2) The Bull of Alexander VI. gave a religious sanction to the overbearing claims of Spain and Portugal. Consequently in England the party of expansion tended to become anti-Papal, and ere long Protestantism and Imperialism went hand in hand.

In the reign of Henry VII. these developments were still on the far-distant horizon. Discovery was yet in its early stages, and there was plenty of room for all. Henry, therefore, was able to send ships to the west and at the same time to remain on fairly good terms with Spain.

John Cabot set sail from Bristol in the spring of 1497 in a little ship called the *Matthew* with a crew of eighteen men. Keeping well to the north of Spanish waters he reached the American coast in the neighbourhood of Newfoundland or Nova Scotia. He followed the shore for some distance, landing at one place to set up the flags of England and Venice. He saw no

John Cabot's  
first voyage,  
1497.



inhabitants, but found signs of their presence, such as felled trees and snares for game. He was struck by the immense quantities of fish on the Newfoundland banks. He arrived safely again at Bristol in August, and travelled at once to London to report his experiences to the King.

John Cabot was convinced—and all London agreed with him—that he had found the mainland of Asia, and that he had only to follow it southwards to reach a second tropical region abounding in spices and gold. John Cabot's voyage, 1498. The Spaniards had not as yet reached the mainland, being still engaged in exploring the islands of

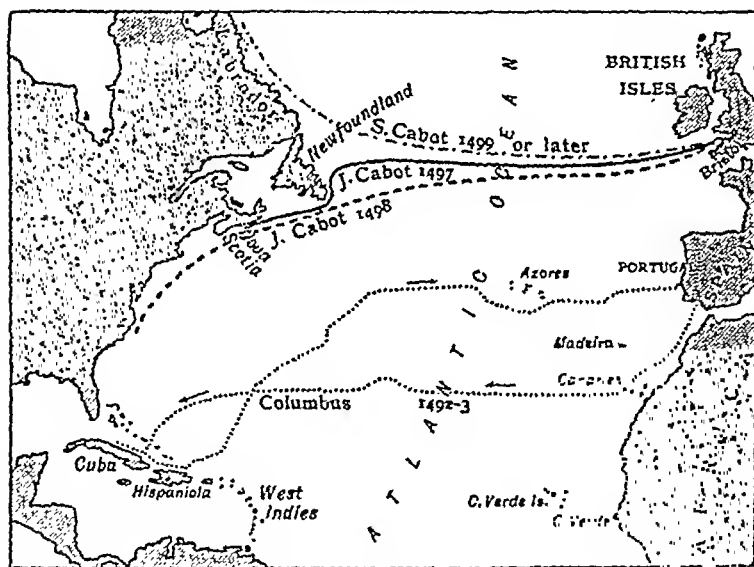


FIG. 2.—THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

the West Indies. It appeared, therefore, as if England would be the first to reach the coveted goal—the Cathay and Cipango described by Marco Polo. The merchants of London were now eager to invest in the enterprise, and in 1498 Cabot sailed again with five ships laden with English cloth which he intended to exchange for the produce of

China and Japan. Beyond the bare facts that he set sail and had returned by the following year, nothing whatever is known of this second voyage of John Cabot. Knowing, as we do, the great delusion under which he was labouring, it is permissible to make a guess at what happened. It is probable that he followed the same course as in the previous year, and coasted southwards from Newfoundland. Relying on Marco Polo's description of Cathay, he expected to find wealthy and populous cities inhabited by Chinamen as civilised in some respects as the people of Europe, and ruled by a Grand Khan who kept imposing state. What he actually found was very different. For league after league the coast stretched out, strewn with rocks or clothed in forests, but showing few traces of the presence of man. Here and there might be encountered bands of wandering red men. But these were not the orientals of Marco Polo. They had no spices or silks to sell, nothing of value to give for English cloth. Slowly the bitter truth became evident to the explorer. He had not discovered Cathay, but some other land quite worthless for purposes of trade. Once this was realised there was nothing for it but to turn back with cargoes unsold and failure to report in place of dazzling success. John Cabot did not long survive his disappointment. It is probable that he died in 1499 or 1500.

In such a depressing light did the discovery of America present itself to the English mind. The Spaniards were equally disappointed when the same facts became evident to them, but ere long they were to be consoled by the riches of Mexico and Peru. In the region of the English discoveries no such compensations presented themselves. For nearly a century to come the American coast-line was regarded by English explorers as valueless in itself, an obstacle which must be penetrated or circumvented in order to attain the desired goal, the sea passage to Cathay. It was only at the end of the sixteenth century that Englishmen turned their hands to their true work in the world, the colonisation of the great continent itself.

For the present the problem they set themselves to solve was the discovery of a way round the north of the new land, and many heroic efforts were expended in the quest of the North-West Passage. The first to undertake it was Sebastian Cabot, the second son of our first explorer. At some time subsequent to his father's failure—possibly, but not certainly, in 1499—he made a voyage with two ships up the repellent coast of Labrador seeking in vain for some opening to the west. He was turned back by huge masses of ice and also, according to one account, by a mutiny of his men. After this he quitted England and entered the Spanish service, but we shall meet him again in his old age when he again plays a part in English expansion.

Bristol had already been prominent in ocean discovery, and the next effort we have to consider was made by three merchants of that city<sup>1</sup> in conjunction with three Portuguese navigators. In 1501 Henry VII. granted them permission to make voyages to the north-west. Their object seems to have been similar to that of Sebastian Cabot, to find a North-West Passage and to establish a fortified colony at its entrance so as to prevent other nations from using it. They made four or five expeditions in 1501 and the following years, but little is known as to their achievements. They received some financial assistance from the King, and probably paid expenses by fur-trading and fishing on the Labrador coast. Their attempts to find the passage were a failure, and they seem to have discontinued the enterprise after 1505.

The only practical result of the voyages of Henry VII.'s reign was the opening up of the Newfoundland fishery. This was soon energetically worked by Frenchmen, Spaniards and Portuguese. The fishermen of the east coast of England still continued to resort to Iceland, but those of Bristol found the Newfoundland voyage more profitable, and their use of the

<sup>1</sup> Their names were Richard Ward, Thomas Ashehurst and John Thomas.

coasts of that island constitutes the claim of Newfoundland to be the oldest English settlement beyond the seas.

### SUMMARY OF EXPANSION UNDER HENRY VII

1. Henry VII. restored order after the Wars of the Roses and worked successfully in the interests of English commerce.
2. The old branches of foreign trade took a fresh lease of life, and a new trade with the Levant was opened up.
3. Columbus discovered the West Indies for Spain, and Vasco da Gama the sea route to India for Portugal.
4. It was a general belief that Eastern Asia could be reached by sailing to the west.
5. Henry VII., although desiring friendship with Spain, countenanced attempts to make this discovery.
6. John Cabot's two voyages first raised a hope that Cathay had been reached, and then proved that America lay as an obstacle in the way.
7. The voyages of Sebastian Cabot and the Anglo-Portuguese Company of Bristol were attempts to find a North-West Passage round America.
8. The Newfoundland fishery began to be exploited.

### IMPORTANT DATES

1485. Navigation Act reserving the Bordeaux wine trade to Englishmen.
1492. Christopher Columbus discovers the West Indies.
- 1493-6. Quarrel with the Netherlands, stoppage of trade.
1496. The *Magnus Intercursus*, treaty with the Netherlands.
1497. John Cabot's first voyage to North America.
1498. John Cabot's second voyage to North America.
- Vasco da Gama reaches India by sea.
- 1499(?). Sebastian Cabot's voyage to the north-west.
- 1501-5. Voyages of the Anglo-Portuguese syndicate from Bristol.
1505. New Charter granted to the Merchant Adventurers.
1509. Death of Henry VII.

## CHAPTER II

HENRY VIII., 1509-1547

THE accession of Henry VIII. in 1509 involved, for a short time, a return to a state of affairs familiar to the Middle Ages. The young King was fired with the idea of reconquering the lost territories in the north and south-west of France, and ere long was making war upon that country in alliance with the Emperor Maximilian and the King of Spain. The war was on the whole unsuccessful. An expedition was sent to Spain under the Marquis of Dorset with the object of crossing the Pyrenees with Spanish assistance, and overrunning the province of Gascony. This expedition proved a complete failure, and returned in disgrace without striking a blow at the enemy. The men were neglected by their allies, their health was undermined by the climate and a too free indulgence in the fiery wines of the country; they broke into mutiny and came home without leave.

To retrieve this humiliation, Henry crossed to Calais in the next year, and opened a campaign in north-eastern France. He won the Battle of the Spurs, and assisted in reducing Tournay and Terouenne. During his absence James IV. of Scotland crossed the Border only to meet defeat and death at Flodden Field. The credit for so promptly dealing with this serious peril was divided between Queen Katherine, who organised the English army of defence, and the Earl of Surrey, who led it to victory. Henry VIII. returned to England in the autumn with only a very small portion of his expected conquests in France accomplished.

In the meantime the English navy had been rendering somewhat better service against the French than the land forces had done. On August 10th, 1512, the fleet, under Sir Edward Howard, fought a battle with the French off the Breton coast. Each side lost its largest ship, the English *Regent* and the French *Cordelière* engaging in a desperate duel which ended in both being burnt side by side. But the battle otherwise went in favour of the English, who routed their enemies and chased them into Brest. Early in 1513 Howard was again at sea looking for the French. They refused to come out of Brest to face him, and he began a blockade of that port. He himself was killed in an attempt to capture some French galleys which had arrived in a neighbouring haven, and the blockade was then discontinued. His fleet had, however, demonstrated its superiority, and held the command of the Channel during the remainder of the war. The English navy was at this time a young force fighting its first campaign. The warships of Henry V., it will be remembered, had all disappeared during the evil times of his successor. Henry VII. had made a fresh beginning by building a few first-class fighting ships. These had been largely added to by Henry VIII., who always took an especial interest in the navy.

The war came to an end in 1514. The King, although he had gained some glory, had little else to show for it, and henceforward, under the guidance of Thomas Wolsey, he pursued a more cautious policy. His martial occupations had left him little leisure to continue his father's efforts on behalf of English trade. In spite of this, the good

Progress of  
commerce.

The English  
merchants in  
Spain.

work already done continued to bear fruit. The Merchant Adventurers benefited by friendly relations with the Low Countries (under the rule of the Emperor Maximilian). Henry's wife also was the daughter of King Ferdinand, a fact which had a favourable influence on commerce with Spain. So flourishing did this branch of trade become that the merchants interested formed themselves into a company in imitation of the Merchant Adventurers. They secured

privileges from the Spanish authorities, including liberty to erect warehouses and a church at the port of San Lucar, near Seville. Henry granted them a charter similar to that of the older companies, by which they might elect a governor, frame rules for the conduct of the trade, and collect fines from the disobedient.

Thus, in spite of the wars which distracted Europe at this period, things went smoothly with the merchants and sea-captains of England for the first twenty years of Henry's reign. Then a question arose which produced far-reaching changes. The Reformation had begun in Germany under Martin Luther in 1517. Henry was at first hostile to it, but when he desired a divorce from his wife, Katherine of Aragon, the Pope was unable to grant his request. The English King refused to swerve from his purpose, and attained it by severing the connection between England and the Papal Church. He who by an earlier Pope had been complimented as Defender of the Faith now became Supreme Head of the Church of England, and the reformed doctrines made rapid headway in the country. To understand the effects of this change upon English maritime affairs it is necessary to bear in mind the following facts : the Emperor Maximilian and Ferdinand of Spain were now both dead ; Charles V., the grandson of both, was also the heir of both ; he ruled over Germany, the Netherlands, part of Italy, Spain and all the vast dominions which the Spaniards were conquering in America ; and he, the most powerful prince in the world, was the nephew of the woman whom Henry had driven from his court.

It soon followed that the English merchants were regarded sourly both in the Netherlands and Spain. In the former country they had to put up with irritating annoyances ; officials plagued them with new taxes and regulations, and on two occasions they were all placed under arrest for a considerable time. But if trade with the Netherlands became difficult, with Spain it became well-nigh impossible. The Inquisition had long been at work in that country in

the spiritual interests of the Moors and Jews. It now began to persecute Englishmen for heresy. All good subjects of Henry VIII. were expected to take oath that they believed their King to be head of the English Church. This was sufficient to condemn them in the eyes of Spanish priests. In 1539 it was reported that three Englishmen had been burnt on these grounds, and although the story was not confirmed there was no doubt that many were imprisoned, tortured and deprived of all their goods. These cruelties produced retaliation. English seamen, despairing of legitimate trade, began to capture Spanish and Flemish ships at sea. They soon learnt that vessels coming from the West Indies were likely to prove rich prizes, and although the quarrel was patched up after a time, the former friendly relations were never restored.

As has been related, the regular English trade with the Mediterranean was begun in the time of Henry VII. Like that with Spain, it continued to prosper in the first years of his successor. Consuls were appointed in the ports of the Levant, and a sixteenth century writer records that as early as 1511 "divers tall ships of London, with certain other ships of Southampton and Bristol, had an ordinary and usual trade to Sicily, Candia, Chios, and somewhiles to Cyprus, as also to Tripoli and Beyrout in Syria." The voyage out and home usually occupied a full twelve months. Large and well-armed ships were necessary because of the danger from the pirates who swarmed in Mediterranean waters. The trade thus formed an excellent training ground for a new generation of sea-captains who were to carry the English flag to unheard-of distances. Among the men who engaged in it in their youth were Anthony Jenkinson, the Asiatic explorer, and Richard Chancellor, the discoverer of the White Sea.

Increasing  
frequency of  
voyages to  
the Medi-  
terranean.

To keep pace with the merchants' demands for cargoes, the manufacture of cloth in England was carried on to an ever increasing extent. Arable land was converted into sheep farms to produce the raw material, but the weavers soon absorbed the increased supplies. One result of this



was the decline of the oldest of English merchant companies, the Merchants of the Staple, since there was less raw wool available for export. The shipments of the Staplers fell off by 50 per cent. in this reign.

Although Henry VIII. always showed a keen interest in maritime concerns, the other great affairs of his reign—foreign politics and the Reformation—prevented him from doing as much as he would have wished to forward the cause of English exploration. Nevertheless, there were several attempts at discovery promoted by the mercantile classes of his subjects, and patronised by the Sovereign himself. In the earlier ones, in fact, the initiative was mainly due to the Government. In 1521 the King and Cardinal Wolsey made a proposal to the Livery Companies of London that they should provide some ships for a voyage of discovery to the North-West. The expedition was to have been commanded by Sebastian Cabot, who would have returned from Spain for that purpose. But the merchants of London did not look so favourably on schemes for western discovery as those of Bristol had done, and the plan was abandoned owing to their unwillingness to subscribe the necessary funds.

Next, in 1527, Robert Thorne, a member of a wealthy family of Bristol merchants trading in Spain, wrote a treatise in which he sought to prove that Cathay might be reached by sailing right over the North Pole. He was undeterred by the reports of icefields which the earlier explorers in this region had brought back. He argued plausibly that since the equatorial zone had not been found too hot for Europeans to traverse, so the polar regions would not prove to be too cold, and he added that the perpetual daylight of the arctic summer would more than compensate for the disadvantages of the route. Although mistaken, Thorne was a sincerely patriotic man, and spent his money freely in acquiring information about remote parts of the world. His name deserves to be remembered as that of the first English writer on such subjects.

Perhaps in consequence of Thorne's arguments, an expedition sailed for the North-West in 1527. It consisted of two ships under the command of John Rut, a sea-captain, and Albert de Prato, a canon of St. Paul's. It was financed largely, if not entirely, by the King, and one of the ships at least belonged to the Royal Navy. They sailed from Thames on May 20th, 1527, and shaped their course for the coast of Labrador. On the way one of the vessels, the *Samson*, was lost in a storm, and John Rut with the remaining one, the *Mary Guilford*, continued the voyage alone. He persevered in the attempt to find the passage until he was turned back by masses of ice. He then returned to refit in a Newfoundland harbour, where he found ships of all nations engaged in fishing. By one of the fishing craft he sent home letters to the King in which he related his adventures and expressed his determination to persevere in the attempt. He is next heard of as coasting down the American shore to the southwards until he arrived in the West Indies. He encountered a Spanish captain off Porto Rico and inquired from him the way to San Domingo in Hispaniola, the principal island of the Spanish group. At San Domingo Rut's vessel was fired upon, and he was unable to land. He therefore returned to Porto Rico, traded with the inhabitants, and thence sailed homewards, having accomplished a memorable voyage.

This was the first recorded visit of an English ship to the West Indies, and, if the Spaniards had known it, it was as great an omen of ill-fortune for them as the raven beating in from the sea had been to our Saxon forefathers in the days of the Vikings. For the present, however, Henry VIII. had strong reasons for not quarrelling with Charles V., and did not encourage his subjects to repeat the performance.

In 1536 another north-western expedition set out under the command of Master Hore of London. It achieved no results of importance, getting no further than the neighbourhood of Cape Breton. The crew suffered greatly from want of food, some of its members being driven to kill and

eat one another. At last a French ship was sighted. The starving Englishmen boarded her and helped themselves to victuals, and so returned home after a most miserable experience. Afterwards, when the Frenchmen complained to King Henry, "he was so moved with pity that he punished not his subjects, but of his own purse made full and royal recompense unto the French."

In the meantime a private subject of the King had been opening up a new trade in quite a different direction.

The voyages of William Hawkins of Plymouth was one of the best known merchant captains of the west of England. In 1530 he set sail in his ship, the

*Paul* of Plymouth, to visit the coasts of Brazil. On the way out he touched the western shore of Africa, and obtained ivory from the natives. Arriving in Brazil, he conducted a successful trade. The country had been first discovered by the Portuguese, who now claimed a monopoly of its trade. But at this period they had only a few isolated settlements on the coast, and Hawkins seems to have avoided coming into collision with them. In 1531 and 1532 he repeated his exploit, making friends with the natives, and even bringing a native chief to England. This savage caused a great sensation at Henry's court by his extraordinary appearance. According to his promise, Hawkins treated him as a guest and not as a prisoner, and took him back on his next voyage to Brazil; but the chief died at sea on the way.

After making three voyages in person and establishing the trade, Hawkins continued to send out ships under subordinate captains, and obtained the support of Thomas Cromwell, Henry's second great minister of state. Other merchants followed his example, and a fort was built on the Brazilian coast. But for some unexplained reason the trade was allowed to die out after ten or a dozen years of prosperity. Possibly the outbreak of a series of naval wars in Northern Europe may have been the cause. Cruising against French and Spanish commerce soon became more profitable than lawful trade, and there is evidence

that William Hawkins was the owner of several privateers in his later years.

The record of these voyages under Henry VIII. shows that, although the English had achieved nothing which could compare in value with the discoveries of Spain and Portugal, they were nevertheless beginning to find their way about the world and to accumulate experience on which future expansion might be based. This slow progress was not a disadvantage in the long run. The Spaniards and Portuguese were demoralised by their too easily gained wealth, and never acquired the true art of colonisation. The English, being too late to seize the rich tropical lands, were forced to work hard for little gain in the bleak regions of the north. Although many were discouraged, a few persevered, and after long years of struggle the English race was firmly established in North America.

A few words must be said as to the navy under Henry VIII. Throughout his life he worked hard to improve this force. He built and bought many ships both great and small, and always showed willingness to experiment with improved types. Guns increased greatly in power and range, and Englishmen rapidly became as skilful gunners as they had been archers in the Middle Ages. The hour of trial arrived in 1545, when the French planned an invasion and conquest of England. Their fleet and army were of unprecedented strength, but they were foiled by Henry's warships. After an indecisive engagement off Portsmouth in July, the fleets again encountered, one August evening, off the Sussex coast. The English anchored to prepare for a decisive battle on the morrow, but when morning dawned their enemy was almost out of sight. They had retired without a struggle to their own ports, and the scheme of invasion was abandoned. The fleet had saved England on this occasion just as certainly as it did forty-three years later from the Spanish Armada.

Henry's work on behalf of the navy can be gauged from the following facts: When he ascended the throne there were seven royal ships, of which two were battleships of

the first class ; when he died he left a fleet composed of 53 vessels, amounting together to 11,268 tons and carrying 2,087 guns and 7,780 men. The progress of commerce and the practice of distant voyages caused his subjects to build larger merchantmen than formerly, and these were also made useful in time of war. The merchant sailor, in fact, was just as good a fighting man as he who served in the fleet.

### SUMMARY

1. The improvement in English trade, commenced under Henry VII., was maintained under Henry VIII., although that King did not do so much for commerce as his father had done.
2. Trade with Spain and the Mediterranean increased.
3. The Reformation gave rise to hostility between England and Spain. This steadily increased, until it culminated in the despatch of the Spanish Armada.
4. Voyages of discovery under Henry VIII. were mainly directed to the finding of a North-West Passage to Asia.
5. William Hawkins opened up an important trade with Brazil.
6. Henry VIII. engaged in wars with France, and made the English navy stronger than it had ever been before

### IMPORTANT DATES

- 1512-14. War with France. Success of the English fleet.
1521. Failure of a plan for the London Livery Companies to finance an English expedition to the North-West.
1527. Robert Thorne's *Declaration of the Indies*.  
John Rut's voyage to the North-West and the West Indies.
1530. The English merchants in Spain become a Company by Charter of Henry VIII.
- 1530-2. William Hawkins' three voyages to Brazil.
1536. Hore's voyage to the North-West.
- 1539-40. The Inquisition persecutes Englishmen in Spain.
1545. A French invasion foiled by the English fleet.
1547. Death of Henry VIII.

## CHAPTER III

EDWARD VI. AND MARY, 1547-1558

WITH the death of Henry VIII. changes which had long been preparing in the trend of English maritime affairs began to manifest themselves in unmistakable fashion. The old European trades, hitherto the most important, showed a sudden decline from which they never fully recovered. Many separate causes acting at the same time produced this result. The dissensions arising from the Reformation, and the fierce competition of the Hanseatic League affected the security of the Merchant Adventurers at Antwerp, and oft-repeated complaints were made of the "decay" of their trade. The Merchants of the Staple, although exporting less wool than formerly, found a difficulty in selling their wares owing to the competition of the Spanish product. But, apart from this, their day was nearly ended. The increase of home manufacture was slowly but surely absorbing the surplus left over for export. The finishing stroke was supplied by the capture of Calais by the French in 1558. An attempt was made to re-establish the Staple in a Netherlands town, but ere long the shipments became irregular, and finally ceased altogether.

In the Bordeaux wine trade again, the English monopoly was broken by a partial repeal of the Navigation Acts in 1552. The Act of Henry VII., which had excluded foreigners from engaging in this trade, had been enforced with fair regularity, and had been extended by a new Navigation Act in 1540. The Duke of Northumberland, the virtual ruler of the country during the last years of Edward VI.,

found it convenient to throw the trade open to foreigners at certain seasons of the year.

The position of the English in Spain continued to suffer from the causes which had endangered it under Henry VIII.

Advance of  
the Turks and  
cessation of  
the Levant  
trade.

In the Mediterranean, which had seemed at one time the most promising new outlet for English energies, a decline also took place. The Turks, who had taken Constantinople in 1453, steadily extended their conquests in the

sixteenth century. One by one the islands of the Levant, formerly colonies of the Italian cities, fell under their sway. The Christian populations were reduced to slavery, and commerce was slowly blotted out. Fierce Mohammedan pirates swept the seas, and only those merchantmen which were as strongly armed as warships could hope to survive. In 1552 and 1553 occurred the last recorded English voyages to the Levant of this early series. Thereafter the trade was "utterly discontinued and in a manner quite forgotten, as if it had never been, for the space of twenty years and more." Its revival in the middle of Elizabeth's reign will be dealt with later on.

The only event of this period favourable to the old commerce was the extinction of the privileges of the Han-

The Han-  
seatic League  
deprived of  
its English  
privileges.

seatic League by the governments of Edward VI. and Mary. These German merchants had taken advantage of the confusion of the fifteenth century to secure a treaty from Edward IV. by which solid advantages were conferred on them. They had a block of warehouses in London called the Steelyard (where Cannon Street Station now stands). Here they governed themselves by their own laws and magistrates. They paid lower duties on their wares than did any other foreigners. In some instances, in fact, they paid less than English merchants themselves. Taking advantage of the misfortunes of the English in the Low Countries, they began to grasp a leading share in a trade which the English had always regarded as peculiarly their own. But the Merchant Adventurers, although their

business was declining, had a hold upon the English Government. They had lent it large sums of money. In return they demanded the abatement of the privileges of their rivals. Accordingly, in 1552, the Charter of the Easterlings was revoked, and they were reduced to the same status as ordinary aliens. Mary, on her accession in 1553, restored the privileges for a time, but withdrew them again before the end of her reign. The Easterlings continued to trade in their humbled position for another forty years, and were finally expelled by Elizabeth in 1598.

The foregoing account shows that the middle years of the sixteenth century were a time of depression in the old trades. Those merchants who clung to them exclusively and refused to look further afield were loud in their complaints of bad times. But there were others more enterprising, who realised that the world had grown larger, and that there was no need for Englishmen to confine their activities to the waters of Europe. In two different directions, therefore, we find a beginning of better things.

Oceanic enterprise stimulated by misfortunes in Europe.

It will be remembered that William Hawkins had touched at the African coast on his way to Brazil in 1530. That coast had been the earliest scene of the discoveries of the Portuguese, and they raised loud protests at any invasion of their rights. But under the Protestant regime of Edward VI. Englishmen were less disposed to pay reverence to the Bull of Alexander VI. which had divided the world between the two nations of the Peninsula. Accordingly, in the year 1551, a syndicate of London merchants despatched a ship called the *Lion* to the coast of Morocco. It was commanded by Thomas Wyndham, an officer who had gained some reputation in the naval wars of Henry VIII. He was successful in opening up a trade, and repeated the voyage with three vessels in the following year. The goods obtained by these expeditions were sugar, dates, almonds, and molasses, all of which were much

The voyages of Thomas Wyndham. A regular African trade begun.



scarcer luxuries in England than they are at the present day.

The merchants, having now amassed considerable capital, determined to invest it in a still bolder venture. They had heard that further to the south lay the coast of Guinea producing pepper, ivory and gold. The Portuguese had always taken pains to keep secret their knowledge of the navigation of this region. But at this time there was in London a Portuguese traitor named Pinteado. He had served as a pilot on the coast of Guinea, and was now a fugitive from his own country. This man went to the merchants interested in the African trade and offered to guide an expedition to this wealthy and secret region. His offer was accepted, and he set sail with Thomas Wyndham in 1553, a month after the death of Edward VI. The squadron consisted of the *Lion*, Wyndham's old ship, the *Primrose*, and a pinnace called the *Moon*. On the voyage down the African coast they met a Portuguese galleon sent expressly to stop them, but when it came to the point she declined the fight, and they proceeded on their way. Arriving at the Gold Coast, they traded with the native chiefs and obtained 150 lb. of gold dust in exchange for beads and metal basins and other goods of very slight value.

The next step was to sail on to the Bight of Benin, where Pinteado knew of a pepper-growing region. He himself, with some of the English merchants, went up country to bargain for pepper. In his absence an epidemic of sickness broke out among the crews, and numbers of the men died. Messages were sent ordering the merchants to return at once to the ships, but they failed to obey. Pinteado alone went back to beg for some delay. He found Wyndham dead and the survivors in a state of mutiny. They insisted on sailing for home at once, taking Pinteado with them, and abandoning the merchants to their fate. On the way home many more died, including Pinteado himself. Of the 140 men who had set out from England, scarcely 40 returned. But the value of the gold brought back showed a handsome profit on the expedition in spite of all disasters.

In the following years many English merchantmen made voyages to the Guinea Coast. John Lok in 1554-5 secured 400 lb. of gold with other produce amounting in all to a value of £20,000. William Towerson made three successive voyages, all of which seem to have been profitable, and other Englishmen whose names are not recorded engaged in the same trade. The Portuguese sent out warships to hunt down the interlopers. They also made complaints to the English Government, and induced Queen Mary to prohibit the trade. But small notice was taken either of warships or prohibitions so long as large profits were to be made. In course of time it would appear that the trade was overdone. The supply of gold was limited, and the natives raised their prices. Other branches of commerce began to attract English capital, and the African trade was no longer so vigorously pursued, but it was never entirely lost sight of.

While Wyndham and others were voyaging to Africa, the project of a northern passage to Asia was being revived in a new form. In 1548 Sebastian Cabot had returned to England after serving for thirty years in the important office of Pilot-Major of Spain. His flight from Spain had probably been managed by a group of influential persons who hoped that he would be useful in promoting English discovery. Some years elapsed before the plan took shape, but at length, early in 1553, a company of courtiers, nobles and merchants was formed to set forth an expedition to Cathay by the north-east. Several explorers had already failed to find a North-West Passage, but the north-eastern route had never yet been tried by Englishmen, and high hopes of success were therefore entertained. Cabot's advice determined the direction of the new venture, and he drew up a set of rules for its conduct. At a meeting of the investors it was decided that the expedition should start in the summer of 1553, that it should consist of three ships, and that it should be commanded by Sir Hugh Willoughby. Willoughby had distinguished himself on land in the

Sebastian  
Cabot and the  
North-East  
Passage.

Scottish wars, but it is not known whether he had any experience of the sea. His second-in-command, however, Richard Chancellor, was a professional seaman who had made voyages to the Levant.

The fleet sailed from Ratcliffe on May 10th, 1553, and arrived after many delays at the Isle of Senjen off the coast of Norway on August 2nd. Here a sudden and violent storm separated the ships. Willoughby and Chancellor. Willoughby with the *Bona Esperanza* and the *Bona Confidentia* lost sight of Chancellor in the *Edward Bonaventure*. In case of such a mishap it had been agreed to rendezvous at Vardo, the most northerly civilised settlement of Europe. Chancellor duly proceeded thither, but Willoughby lost his reckoning, and went sailing on until he reached Novaia Zemlia on August 14th. He was still full of eagerness to discover the passage, but one of his ships sprang a leak, and he had to seek some haven where she might be repaired. The weather also grew rapidly worse, and it soon became evident that the discovery must be postponed till the following spring. After examining the barren and cheerless coasts for more than a month amid increasing cold, Willoughby decided to winter in the mouth of the River Arzina in Russian Lapland. The two ships were moored, and men were sent out to examine the country. They found plenty of wild animals, but no signs of human existence. Tragedy was the result of this attempt to pass the winter in the hulls of the ships. Before the next spring, Sir Hugh Willoughby and every one of his men were dead. In 1554 Russian fishermen found the ships with the bodies in them and also a journal kept by Sir Hugh, from which the account of the voyage is drawn. There was plenty of food still remaining, and it was therefore conjectured that the cold alone of the Arctic winter had been sufficient to kill those who had no experience of the best methods of meeting it.

In the meantime Chancellor had waited some while for his chief at Vardo, but, finding he did not appear, deter-

mined to push on with the discovery alone. Keeping nearer to the coast than Willoughby had done, he found the entrance to the White Sea. Soon after entering it he fell in with some Russian fishermen who guided him to Archangel. <sup>Discovery of the</sup> White Sea.

He was somewhat surprised to find that he had discovered the territories of the Czar, as no one at that time thought that they extended so far to the north. He realised that some commercial advantages might be gained, and travelled to Moscow to present to Ivan the Terrible the letters of recommendation with which Edward VI. had furnished the expedition. Ivan was pleased with the Englishman's bearing, and readily granted permission to his countrymen to buy and sell in all parts of his dominions. With this message Chancellor returned to his ship and, as soon as navigation was possible, set sail for England.

On his arrival in 1554 his story created a great sensation. The company decided to engage with energy in the Russian trade, and for the time being the less promising search for the North-East Passage was dropped. Hence the undertaking became known as the Muscovy or Russia Company. Queen Mary granted them a charter of incorporation in the usual terms, by which a monopoly was secured to them. Chancellor returned with several merchants to Russia, and factories for the storage of goods were established. Although it did good business for many years, the company was unfortunate in losing several ships. Chancellor himself was wrecked and drowned on his second return from Russia in the *Edward Bonaventure*. A Russian ambassador who took passage with him was saved, and met with an enthusiastic reception in London. He was the first of his nation who had ever been seen there, and was instrumental in concluding a treaty of friendship and commerce.

The Russia Company was the first of a series which were in time to come to develop for England a world-wide trade. The most important of them all, the East India Company

formed half a century later, owed a good deal to the experience gained by the Russia Company. These companies differed from the older ones like the Merchant Adventurers in that they were worked on a joint stock, that is to say, the capital and the profits were pooled, and the latter were distributed to the investors in the shape of interest on their shares. The older companies were of the "regulated" type. In them each merchant traded on his own separate capital and made his own profit or loss. Membership of the company simply meant that he enjoyed its privileges and submitted to its rules. The regulated type of company was found unsuitable for long voyages in which large ships were employed, the risks being too great for single merchants to bear.

### SUMMARY

1. The period 1547-1558 is one of decline in the old trades with European countries.
2. In spite of this, mercantile enterprise found an outlet in voyages to Africa and the North-East.
3. Thomas Wyndham first led expeditions to Morocco, and afterwards to Guinea and Benin.
4. The African trade brought Englishmen into collision with claims based on the Bull of Alexander VI.
5. Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor set out to find the North-East Passage. Chancellor discovered northern Russia instead.
6. Establishment of the Russia Company, the first great joint-stock company.

### IMPORTANT DATES

- 1548. Sebastian Cabot returns to England.
- 1551. Wyndham's first voyage to Morocco.
- 1552. The privileges of the Hansa revoked.
- 1553. Discontinuance of the Levant trade.

1553. Wyndham's voyage to Guinea.

Formation of the Russia Company.

Willoughby and Chancellor sail for the North-East.

Death of Edward VI.

1553-4. Death of Willoughby. Arrival of Chancellor at Moscow.

1556. Wreck of the *Edward Bonaventure*. Death of Chancellor.

1558. Loss of Calais.

Death of Mary.

## CHAPTER IV

ELIZABETH, 1558-1603

### (i) *English Trade in Europe*

THE year 1558, which saw the accession of Elizabeth, saw also the death of Charles V. Before retiring to the Spanish monastery in which he ended his days, he had divided his vast empire between his brother Ferdinand and his son Philip. The former became Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, which in practice meant ruler of Austria and overlord of the other princes of Germany; the latter became King of Spain and the Spanish colonies, and ruler of the Netherlands and part of Italy. Later on, in 1580, Philip made himself King of Portugal on the extinction of the old royal line, and thus united the whole peninsula under his rule. The main importance of this step to England was that, in the war which followed, the colonies and commerce of Portugal, in addition to those of Spain, became open to English attack.

Philip II. was determined to put a stop to the spread of Protestant doctrines among his Netherlands subjects. The Inquisition redoubled its activities, and the inhabitants of the northern or Dutch provinces were slowly but surely driven into rebellion. The revolt of the Netherlands. The struggle, once started, involved the whole country, and the position of the Merchant Adventurers, as the subjects of a Protestant queen, became an extremely difficult one. The trade of Antwerp languished, and was ultimately destroyed by the wars, and the English merchants transferred their mart to Hamburg in 1569. On new ground

the business of the Merchant Adventurers took a fresh lease of life, and they flourished at Hamburg for over a century to come.

The reduction of the privileges of the Hansa by Edward VI. and Mary had also a good effect on the English trade to the Baltic. It will be remembered that Henry IV. had chartered companies for this region, but that Hanse competition had almost wiped them out. In 1579 Elizabeth issued a new charter reconstituting the Eastland Company, which did good business in the ensuing years.

The Russia Company, which had begun well owing to the ability of Richard Chancellor, continued to prosper until nearly the end of Elizabeth's reign, when The English its fortunes suffered a decline. Anthony Jen- in Russia. kinson, who succeeded Chancellor as the Company's chief agent in Russia, made long and perilous journeys into Central Asia, and opened up an English trade with Persia by the overland route. The sea-passage to Russia was also shortened by the conquests of the Czar, Ivan the Terrible, who captured the port of Narva on the Baltic coast. This made it unnecessary for the Company's ships to brave the northern shores of Scandinavia and the White Sea. But towards the end of his reign, his former friendly feelings towards England underwent a change. The Dutch and the Easterlings began to intrude into the trade, and the English merchants were charged with exacting extortionate prices in Russia. Thus, by the opening of the seventeenth century, their business had fallen to very small dimensions, although their monopoly against other Englishmen was jealously maintained.

In commerce with Southern Europe there were gains and losses. In spite of increasing ill-feeling, trade with Spain continued right up to 1585, when King Philip gave orders for the arrest of all English ships and men in his dominions. Thenceforward there was no intercourse for nearly twenty years. Previously to this, steps had been taken for the renewing of the Levant trade, which had been discontinued about 1550. In 1575 two Englishmen travelled through



Poland to Constantinople, and opened up negotiations with the Sultan. As a result, he granted privileges and safe-conduct for English merchants, and in 1581 The Levant Company. Queen Elizabeth issued letters patent to the merchants interested, constituting them a company with a monopoly of the trade. The Turkey Company, as the new body was called, carried on its business until 1593, when it was amalgamated with a similar venture named the Venice Company, whose name indicates the scene of its activities. The combined Mediterranean traders took the name of the Levant Company. Although they never achieved startling prosperity, they continued to carry on a trade until the early years of the nineteenth century, when their exclusive privileges were annulled. For commerce with further Asia, the Mediterranean route had, of course, been superseded by the sea-route round the Cape of Good Hope, and the Levant Company dealt mainly in the products of Turkey, Syria and Egypt.

Although oceanic adventures are relatively more important in this reign, it will be seen that European trade was by no means languishing in spite of the wars which the Reformation produced in nearly every quarter of Christendom.

### (ii) *Oceanic Trade and the North-West Passage*

The trade with the Guinea coast, which had been so successfully begun under Queen Mary, was continued in the early years of her successor. Elizabeth, unlike her sister, did not disapprove of this traffic, and permitted ships of the navy to be chartered by the merchants engaged. But various adverse circumstances combined to rob the later expeditions of the profits made by the pioneers. The Portuguese, finding protests useless, increased their force of warships on the coast, and fighting with their galleys became the rule rather than the exception. The French also were entering largely into the trade, and their competition tended to raise the prices exacted by the negroes for their produce.

But the most patent cause of the decline was the activity of a new class of adventurer on the African coast. John Hawkins, the son of William Hawkins, who had voyaged to Brazil in 1530, exploited the negroes in a manner which proved to be more profitable than tedious bargaining for gold dust. In 1562 and the following years he carried off large numbers of the blacks "partly by the sword and partly by other means," and sold them as slaves to the Spanish colonists in the West Indies. The result was that all Englishmen were distrusted upon the Guinea coast. Where formerly they had traded in peace and friendship, they were now attacked by the natives, even when bent only on barter. Thus the year 1566-7 saw the last English voyage of the older type for many years to come. This voyage was commanded by George Fenner. He did more fighting than trading with the negroes, and on his return was attacked by seven Portuguese men-of-war off the Azores. His own ship, the *Castle of Comfort*, beat off all attacks for three days in succession, her two consorts being too small to be of much assistance. Finally, the Portuguese were glad to draw off, and leave the heroic Englishman to pursue his voyage in peace.

John  
Hawkins and  
the slave  
trade.

John Hawkins had gained his early experience of the ocean in trading voyages to the Canaries. Here he sought diligently for intelligence of the commercial prospects in the West Indies, and was told that negro slaves would command a good price from the Spanish planters. Within a very few years after Columbus' first discovery, the Spaniards had enslaved the aboriginal inhabitants of those islands. Hard labour and cruel treatment had proved fatal to them, and now the entire race was extinct. To supply their place, negroes had to be imported from Africa, but their numbers were restricted by the regulations of the Spanish government. Hawkins realised that in engaging in the trade he would be infringing the monopoly of the western seas claimed by Spain, but he shrewdly guessed that the planters themselves would be so glad to obtain

labour that they would raise few objections. Although he was the first Englishman to engage in the slave trade, it will be seen from the foregoing that he was in no sense the inventor of it.

Hawkins set sail on the first of these voyages in October 1562. He had with him three small ships, and the voyage was financed by a syndicate which included, strangely enough, some of the merchants interested in the gold and ivory trade. They probably did not foresee the disastrous effect the new traffic would have upon the old. He made a good passage to Guinea, captured 300 negroes "besides other merchandise," and sailed across the Atlantic to the island of Hispaniola, the Spanish headquarters in the West Indies. There he sold his negroes and other commodities for such good prices that he was able to lade with the proceeds, not only his own three ships, but two others also which he chartered and sent to Spain. The goods which the West Indies at this time produced were hides, ginger, sugar and pearls.

So profitable had this voyage been that another on a larger scale was soon projected. In 1564 Hawkins sailed again with four ships, of which the largest was the famous *Jesus of Lubeck* of 700 tons. Henry VIII. had bought her from the Easterlings when he was at war with France in 1545, and she had ever since remained in the English fleet. Her presence in Hawkins' squadron illustrates a practice of Queen Elizabeth's which will frequently be noticed in the maritime history of her reign. Whenever a mercantile venture gave promise of success, she took a share in it as a private investor on the same footing as the other merchants, and she usually paid for her share, not in ready money, but by giving the syndicate the use of one or more of the ships of the fleet. The participation of the *Jesus of Lubeck* in the voyage of 1564 represents the Queen's investment in the expedition.

On this second occasion Hawkins repeated his former

success. It is true that orders had arrived from the Spanish government forbidding their colonists to trade with him, but this was a small difficulty to a man of his resourceful character. He represented that he had been driven out of his true course by storms, and claimed liberty on that account to obtain food and water. Where the local authorities stood to their instructions and forbade his traffic, he resorted to a bold display of force, to which in most cases they were glad to submit after a nominal resistance. The key to the situation lay in the fact that the colonists were in need of slaves, and were anxious to buy them in spite of the policy of their government. On departing, Hawkins was careful to obtain a certificate of good conduct. He returned to England in 1565, "bringing home both gold, silver, pearls and other jewels great store."

After resting on his laurels for more than a year, Hawkins again set out in 1567 with a larger fleet than on either of the previous occasions. In this voyage, which His disastrous  
was destined to be as disastrous as the first two third voyage.  
had been profitable, he had with him the *Jesus of Lubck* and the *Minion* belonging to the Queen, and four smaller vessels, of which one, the *Judith*, was commanded by Francis Drake. The usual slave hunt was carried out on the African coast, and after some hard fighting 400 or 500 negroes were procured. They were sold in the same manner as before on the coast of the Spanish Main, the northern shore of South America. At one place where the Governor absolutely refused to permit the trade, Hawkins landed his men and captured the town. After he had done so, the colonists came to him secretly and bought a large number of his negroes. Having disposed of the greater part of his cargo, he set sail, intending to make his way out of the West Indies by the Florida Channel. But a violent storm so damaged the *Jesus* that it was thought impossible for her to reach home without repairs. Hawkins accordingly made for the roadstead of San Juan d'Ulloa, the only port on the Mexican coast. The day after his arrival there appeared outside a fleet of thirteen ships from Spain.

Hawkins was in a dilemma. If he held the port against them, as he was in a position to do, they ran a great risk of being wrecked by the northerly gales, in which case the indignation of the Spanish government would probably have been his ruin. It must be remembered that England and Spain were then at peace. On the other hand, if he admitted them, they might fall upon his storm-beaten ships and destroy them at their leisure.

Finally he decided to let them come into the harbour, after they had given an undertaking not to molest him.

The fight at  
San Juan  
d'Ulloa.

The anchorage was so small that all the ships, Spanish and English, had to be moored side by side, with very little space between them. Six days after this agreement had been made, the Spaniards suddenly fell upon the English ships, having secretly reinforced their own with soldiers from the mainland. Most of the Englishmen who were ashore were slaughtered without mercy, and it is said that Drake himself only escaped by his presence of mind and bodily strength. The Spaniards concentrated their fire upon the *Jesus of Lubeck*, and so ruined her masts and rigging that it was impossible to bring her off. Three of the smaller vessels were also lost, and only the *Minion* and the *Judith* got clear away. They were crammed with men, survivors of the other crews as well as their own, and short of food and water. Hawkins had 200 in the *Minion*, of whom, by their own consent, he set 100 on shore on the Mexican coast. With the remainder he reached home after suffering extreme privations. Drake in the *Judith* had parted company with him near the scene of the disaster, but arrived in England within a few days of his commander.

Whatever may be urged against Hawkins for his high-handed proceedings in the Spanish colonies, it cannot be denied that his assailants were guilty of the basest treachery. They owed him the preservation of their ships if not of their lives, and had given a solemn undertaking to abstain from hostilities. The men whom he left in Mexico were in after years barbarously treated by the Inquisition; some

were burnt, some publicly flogged, and others condemned to lifelong servitude in the galleys; few ever saw their native land again. The massacre of San Juan d'Ulloa was never forgotten by the spirited seamen of Elizabeth. For the future they gave up all idea of trading with the colonies of Spain. They sailed instead for plunder and revenge, and Francis Drake became the leader of an ever-increasing band who sacked from end to end the Spanish Main and the Islands, the Isthmus of Panama and the shores of Peru, until the terrified Spaniards dared not move a cargo by sea nor a mule load of treasure by land without the protection of an armed force. Such was the price they had to pay for refusing the fierce subjects of the Tudors the right of fair trade on equal terms.

Spanish and Portuguese exclusiveness had yet another effect in stimulating the energies of a more pacific type of man than Drake and his companions. The relative decline of the European trades, and the increase of manufactures and capital in England, demanded that in some quarter an outlet must be found for the commercial activities of the country. The old design of finding the North-West Passage was accordingly revived in the middle of Elizabeth's reign. The object of the quest must be clearly understood. The discovery of the passage would have given England the shortest route to China, the East Indian Archipelago and India itself, and she would thus have acquired a preponderant share in Asiatic trade, then the monopoly of the Portuguese. It was for this reason alone, and not for the honour of mere geographical discovery, that the merchants of London opened their purses in support of the project.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1575, wrote a learned treatise to prove the existence of an open channel to the North of America. Two other men were at the same time turning their attention to the matter—Michael Lok, a merchant of the Russia Company, and Martin Frobisher, an experienced seaman. These two became friends, and were the first to put their plans

Revival of the  
search for the  
North-West  
Passage.

Michael Lok  
and Martin  
Frobisher.

to the test. A few hundred pounds were collected, mainly by Lok's exertions, and Frobisher set sail with two small ships in 1576. He discovered a gulf, still called Frobisher's Sound, breaking the frozen coasts to the north of Labrador. Bad weather and losses among his crew forced him to turn back without making a close examination, but he was convinced that he had found the mouth of the Passage, and announced the fact very positively on his return.

Public interest being aroused, a company was formed called the Company of Cathay, and the Queen granted it The Company a charter with the usual monopoly privileges of Cathay. Lok was to be Governor and Frobisher Admiral of the new undertaking. Before the latter set sail once more in 1577, traces of gold had been found in a piece of mineral brought home on the first voyage. Frobisher was therefore ordered to lade his ship with more of this mineral before proceeding with the discovery. He gave the whole of his attention to this part of his instructions, and came home in the autumn of 1577 with three ship-loads of ore, leaving the discovery of the passage in the same position as before. A mania for speculation set in among the courtiers and merchants of London. Before the real value of the ore had been determined, Frobisher was at sea again (1578) with fifteen ships representing the investment of a large capital sum. During his absence the amount of gold in the ore was found to have been greatly exaggerated, insomuch that it would not pay for the cost of extraction. Not knowing this, Frobisher collected fifteen ship-loads more of the stuff, and arrived home to find the Company bankrupt and the enterprise at an end. During his third voyage he had discovered the straits between Labrador and Baffin Land, now named after a later explorer, Henry Hudson. Baffin Land itself was at that time called Meta Incognita. The Cathay Company thus perished disastrously within two years of its incorporation. Every penny invested had been lost, and Michael Lok, upon whom everyone concurred in laying the blame, was ruined and cast into prison for debt. Judging from the details which

survive, it would seem that Lok was neither more nor less in fault than Frobisher, or any one else connected with the enterprise. Frobisher was thenceforward unable to obtain support for further voyages to the North-West, but the project was carried forward by other hands.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, as we have seen, had interested himself in the North-West Passage before Frobisher's first venture in that direction. But in course of time his ideas were modified, and when he at length found means to make a voyage himself, it was rather with the intention of planting a colony in Newfoundland or the neighbouring regions. In 1579 he set forward an expedition which proved a total failure. This left him short of money, and although he had obtained letters patent from the Queen authorising his undertaking, he was not able to make another attempt until 1583. In June of that year he set sail with five ships, of which the largest, the *Bark Raleigh*, deserted soon after leaving port. This was not a good omen for the discipline of the remainder, but Gilbert pushed on and arrived, after a few weeks, on the coast of Newfoundland. Here began a long series of disasters. The crew of the *Swallow*, one of the fleet, took to piracy, and robbed some fishermen whom they met on the Grand Banks. In spite of this, Gilbert was hospitably welcomed by the main fishing fleet on the coast, and formally took possession of Newfoundland in the name of the Queen. He stayed some weeks on this coast, and his crews became very disorderly. Many obtained leave to go home on pretence of sickness, and one of the ships was set apart for their transport. With the other three, Gilbert sailed to the southwards at the end of August, intending to search for a convenient site for his colony. While examining the shore of Nova Scotia, the *Delight*, the largest remaining ship, struck a reef and went to pieces, nearly a hundred men being drowned. This entailed the ruin of the whole plan, for she carried the greatest part of the provisions and all the stores necessary for the founding of a settlement.

Sir Humphrey  
Gilbert's  
attempt to  
found an  
American  
colony.



There was now nothing more to be done, the two surviving crews were ragged and hungry, and Gilbert shaped his course for England. He himself was in the *Squirrel*, a little "frigate" of ten tons, and in her he lost his life. At midnight of the 9th of September, during a fierce Atlantic gale, the watchers on board the *Golden Hind* saw her lights suddenly go out: "in that moment the frigate was devoured and swallowed up of the sea." And with Sir Humphrey Gilbert perished for the time being the project for an English colony in North America.

The merchants of London still had hopes of the North West Passage. The profits of success would have been so large that it seemed well worth while to make a thorough search before abandoning the idea. Accordingly, in the years 1585-7, three successive voyages for this purpose were made by John Davis' three voyages to the North-West.

John Davis, a mariner who acquired the reputation of being at the same time the most practical and the most scientific seaman of Elizabeth's reign. He was financed by a small syndicate of merchants headed by William Sanderson of London. Davis discovered the strait named after him, and demonstrated the fact that Greenland is entirely separated from Labrador, a point on which there had hitherto been much confusion. He failed, as all his contemporaries did, to discover the Passage, and his voyages led to no commercial result. In after years he joined Thomas Cavendish in a disastrous expedition to the Straits of Magellan, and returned with but sixteen men alive of seventy-six who had sailed from England. He himself met his death in a fight with Japanese pirates in one of the earliest English voyages to the East Indies.

### (iii) *The Revenge for Spanish Exclusiveness and the War with Spain*

While the men of peace were braving the ice and the storms of the North-West, Francis Drake was making the Spanish colonies the scene of a lifelong revenge for San Juan d'Ulloa. He had lost money and friends and almost

life itself, and he was not the man to forget his wrongs. Yet his vengeance was reserved for the Spanish government and its officials; towards private men he was ever courteous and merciful. In 1570 and 1571 he made two voyages to the West Indies. Nothing is known as to their success, but it is improbable that he returned empty-handed. The information which he gained enabled him to plan a third expedition, which is as remarkable as any in the history of the sea. On May 24th, 1572, he sailed from Plymouth with two small ships, and shaped his course for the Gulf of Darien. There, in a hidden harbour which he named Port Pleasant, he fitted together three pinnaces which he had brought in pieces from England. Leaving a few men to guard the ships, he embarked the remainder in the pinnaces, and on July 29th made his appearance at Nombre de Dios, "the treasure house of the world." The Spaniards were in the habit of sending the gold and silver from the mines of Peru to Panama by sea. At Panama it was unladen and carried on the backs of mules across the isthmus to Nombre de Dios, where it was again shipped on board a treasure fleet for Spain. Therefore, at certain seasons, when the cargoes were ready for the treasure fleet, Nombre de Dios was a very rich prize indeed.

Drake and his men entered the town by night, and captured it after some fighting in the streets. He led them to the treasure, and was on the point of having it conveyed to the boats, when he fell to the ground overcome by loss of blood from a wound he had received in the fighting. *His men were dismayed at his fall, and fearful of a return of the Spanish forces.* They abandoned the treasure, carried their unconscious leader to the boats, and sailed back to their concealed harbour in the Gulf of Darien.

Drake determined not to be foiled, and, after a period spent in recovering from his wound and capturing Spanish merchantmen at sea, he embarked upon another scheme as novel and bold as the first. Making friends with some Cimaroons, or escaped negro slaves of the Spaniards, he

persuaded them to guide him with a small party over the Isthmus, his design being to surprise a mule train carrying treasure from Panama to Nombre de Dios. The first attempt was a failure owing to a drunken man springing prematurely from the ambush and alarming the Spaniards. But at length perseverance brought its reward, and a train laden with thirty tons of silver was captured on April 1st, 1573. The English carried off as much of the treasure as they could, and hid the remainder. Before they could return, the Spaniards had recovered it. Nevertheless, an ample success had been gained. Drake sailed for home, and arrived at Plymouth on the morning of an August Sunday in 1573. The rumour of his arrival was whispered through the church, and the people ran out to welcome him without waiting for the end of the sermon.

During the next few years Drake was employed mainly in Ireland, where ceaseless wars and rebellions were in progress. In 1577 he began to make preparations for another great voyage against the Spaniards. On December 13th he sailed from Plymouth with five ships, of which the largest, the *Pelican*, was of 100 tons. His destination had been kept a profound secret, even from his own men, and it was not until they were well out at sea that they were told the object of the voyage. This was to pass through the Straits of Magellan and into the South Sea, where it was rightly guessed that the Spaniards, expecting no enemy, would have made no preparations for defence. As before, Drake meant to strike at the treasure route, but this time between Peru and Panama instead of on the Isthmus itself. The Straits of Magellan formed the most perilous piece of navigation known to the seamen of the sixteenth century, and there were some among the crews who feared that success would be impossible. Drake put down disaffection with an iron hand. He hanged Thomas Doughty, the ringleader of the discontented, and this example had a good effect upon the remainder. Before entering the Straits, he destroyed

The capture  
of the treasure  
train.

The voyage  
of circum-  
navigation,  
1577-80.

his two weakest ships, thus reducing his squadron to three vessels.

The Straits of Magellan were successfully passed in sixteen days, and then came a period of seven weeks of ceaseless tempest before more temperate latitudes could be gained. Time after time the voyagers were blown back to the south-eastwards, and all their progress was wiped out. The *Marigold* foundered with all hands; the *Elizabeth*, commanded by John Winter, sailed back through the Straits and returned to England. Only Drake in the *Pelican*, which he had renamed the *Golden Hind*, held on. At length he fought his way through the storms, and reached the Chilean coast. He took some treasure at Valparaiso, and passed on up the coast to Callao, the port of Peru. There he learned that a treasure ship had sailed for Panama a few days before. He overtook her, and she surrendered almost without resistance. The value of the booty was estimated at from £150,000 to £200,000. Everywhere Drake fell upon the Spaniards like a bolt from the blue, for they had never dreamed that an Englishman would dare to sail through the Straits of Magellan.

It was now a question of getting safely home with the plunder. Drake knew it would be dangerous to return by the way he had come; and it was ever his policy to do what his enemies least expected. He therefore sailed northwards from the neighbourhood of Panama, apparently with the object of finding the North-West Passage from the Pacific side, and so returning to Europe. Increasing cold soon obliged him to give up this plan, and, after refitting in a haven which he named Port Albion, he sailed across the ocean westwards, intending to make his way home by circumnavigating the globe. After many more adventures in unknown seas, he passed through the Indian Ocean, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and reached England on September 26th, 1580, having been two years and nine months away.

The Spaniards raised a great outcry at their losses, and there were many in England who advised that Drake

should be sacrificed to their anger. The Queen, however, thought otherwise, and showed her sympathies plainly enough by knighting Drake on the deck of the *Golden Hind*. Henceforward war with Spain became practically certain, but some years were yet to elapse before its declaration.

Drake's great success caused many to imitate his example. Some failed, many succeeded, and privateering was on the whole sufficiently profitable to be regarded as a form of mercantile investment. Nobles and merchants, until the end of Elizabeth's reign, continued to send out fleets of small and active craft to prey upon the wealth of Spain and Portugal. Among the men prominent in this connection were the following: John Oxenham, who in 1575 led an expedition across the Isthmus of Panama, and, returning with plunder, was captured and hanged by the Spaniards; Thomas Cavendish, who sailed round the world in 1586-8, and captured a rich galleon in the Pacific; Edward Fenton, who attempted a voyage to the South Seas in 1582, but turned back before reaching the Straits; and the Earl of Cumberland and Alderman Watts of London, who fitted out many fleets of privateers with varying success.

Drake's next appearance at sea was no longer as a privateer, but as an officer of the Queen. In 1585 Philip II. at last decided upon war, and laid an embargo upon all English ships in Spain. It was decided that in retaliation a great force should attack the West Indies, and the command of this, the first campaign of the Anglo-Spanish War, was entrusted to Drake. With twenty-five ships and 2,300 men he sailed from Plymouth on September 14th, 1585. Martin Frobisher, now also a naval officer, went as second-in-command, and the soldiers were under Christopher Carleill, who made a great reputation in these wars. Proceeding by way of the Spanish coast and the Cape Verde Islands, they crossed to the West Indies, sacked part of San Domingo, the principal city of the islands, and held

The Anglo-Spanish war.  
The great West Indian raid.



the remainder to ransom. They then stood over to the mainland of South America and treated Carthagena in like fashion. After inflicting many other losses upon the enemy, they turned homewards by way of the coast of Florida and the new English colony of Virginia founded by Sir Richard Grenville in the previous year. The colonists had become faint-hearted, and Drake gave them passage home on board his ships. He finally reached England in the summer of 1586, about ten months after his departure. In spite of considerable losses by sickness, his raid had been an entire success.

Philip II. was a cold-blooded man, never governed by passion and slow to make up his mind, but this contemptuous insult to the power of Spain stung him keenly, and, after his slow fashion, he began to make preparations for the invasion and conquest of England. Few of his advisers doubted the ability of Spain to accomplish the task, when once she should exert her strength.

Vast undertakings in the dockyards of Spain and Portugal were reported by English spies. Ships were being built and

armed, guns cast, and food and munitions collected. The invasion was planned for 1587, but the English fleet was ready while that of Spain was still in process of formation. Drake

sailed for the Spanish coast in the spring, burned or captured thirty warships at Cadiz, and by cruising off Cape St. Vincent and Lisbon paralysed the movements of the remainder. Although he was recalled before the end of the summer, he had done such damage that the invasion could not be launched for another year.

Every heart in Spain, save that of the King, was struck with dismay; the Marquis of Santa Cruz, who was to have commanded the expedition, died of vexation; but Philip calmly began all over again, and

made his plans as if nothing untoward had occurred. The scheme in its final form was as follows: The Spanish Armada, consisting of 130 ships, carrying 30,000 men, was to sail up the Channel without staying to fight the English

fleet; it was to seize a convenient landing-place in the Thames estuary, and was then to transport to England the great army under the Prince of Parma, which Spain maintained in the Low Countries for the purpose of coping with the rebellious Protestants there. Once landed, it was calculated that Parma's veteran soldiers would have no difficulty in overthrowing Elizabeth and restoring the Catholic religion in England.

In the meanwhile the whole naval strength of England was collected in the Channel. Besides the regular warships of the navy, every seaport contributed its armed merchantmen and privateers, manned by crews who had fought for their lives in every part of the world for years past. The English put their faith in seamanship and their great guns; the Spaniards trusted to soldiers and hand-to-hand fighting, which their nimble adversaries never gave them a chance to practise. The English fleet was commanded by Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Admiral of England, and under him were all the great seamen of the time, Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, Fenner, Davis and probably also Grenville and Raleigh. The land army, which the Queen reviewed at Tilbury, was placed under the Earl of Leicester.

After one false start, in which it was scattered by a storm, the Armada finally got to sea on July 12th. The Duke of Medina Sidonia, its commander, acted strictly on his instructions, declining to look The Armada campaign, 1588. for the English in Plymouth, and fighting rear-guard actions all the way up the Channel. In these fights the Spaniards lost several ships, and the superiority of the English method of fighting was apparent. The English captains declined to grapple and fight side by side, and thus to allow the swarms of Spanish soldiers to overwhelm them; instead, they held off at convenient range for their heavy guns, with which they slaughtered the crowded Spaniards without mercy. Any Spanish ship which was damaged and unable to keep up with the rest fell a prey to the superior numbers of the pursuers.



After six days of this disheartening work the Armada dropped its anchors in the roadstead of Calais, hoping for some respite in which to repair damages and get into touch with Parma. But the English, having once seen their enemy run, determined to keep him running, and in the middle of the second night at Calais sent eight fireships blazing into the crowded anchorage. A wild panic followed; every captain cut his cables and made for the open sea. Next day the Spaniards, with nerves shaken by their disasters, were brought to action off Gravelines in a rising gale. Here the terrible English gunnery excelled itself. Some Spaniards were sunk outright, some drifted ashore on the Netherlands coast, and the remainder fled, hopelessly beaten, up the North Sea. Parma, watched by a force of Dutch and English privateers, refused to bring his army out to destruction in his open boats and defenceless transports. The great plan had utterly broken down.

The English fleet, short of powder and provisions, pursued only far enough to make certain that their foes had no thought of return. Pursuit, indeed, was needless. With the Channel barred to him, Medina Sidonia thought only of reaching home by the north of Scotland and the west of Ireland. A series of storms completed the havoc wrought by the English guns, and less than half the great armament reached the ports of Spain, whence they had sailed, confident of victory, two months before. The ships lost numbered sixty-three, with many thousands of soldiers and seamen. The English had lost of ships not one, and of men less than a hundred; but after the return to port a great epidemic of typhus broke out, which killed hundreds of seamen, and was only stayed by paying off the majority of the crews.

The Armada campaign was decisive of the whole future course of the war. Never again was Philip II. able to send a great force against the English coast, and for the next fifteen years the record is a tale of English raids on the Spanish ports or colonies, and attacks on Spanish commerce. Some of these were successful, many were not, for

the Spaniards became increasingly cunning in defensive measures, staying their treasure fleets and removing their wealth inland at the least alarm. They also fortified the West Indian seaports, and against land batteries the best ships of that day could do little.

The chief incidents of the war, subsequent to 1588, were as follows. In 1589 an expedition was sent to Portugal under Drake and Sir John Norreys. It failed to capture Lisbon, and returned after losing several thousand men. In 1591 Lord Thomas Howard sailed with a squadron of the Queen's ships to the Azores to intercept the treasure fleet. In this he was unsuccessful, and the expedition is mainly notable for the famous fight of Sir Richard Grenville in the *Revenge* against overwhelming odds. In the following year, a Portuguese carrack from the East was captured at the same place, and her cargo was found to be so valuable that English merchants began to think of joining in the same trade themselves. In 1595 Drake and Hawkins together led a fleet to the West Indies, hoping to repeat the success of ten years before. But both commanders died at sea, and the expedition came home, having accomplished nothing of importance. The next expedition was a brilliant success. Fearing that Philip was collecting another Armada, Elizabeth despatched Howard, Raleigh and Essex in 1596 to destroy the shipping in Cadiz as Drake had done in 1587. Essex landed and stormed the town, and the Spaniards burned their own ships and cargoes to the value of 12 million ducats to prevent them from falling into the hands of the English. After this the war languished, and only minor operations took place until peace was signed in 1604, after the accession of James I. During all these latter years, the privateers had been increasingly venturesome, although the great profits of early times were no longer made. This was for the simple reason that the streams of Spanish wealth were drying up, and the commerce of the country had well-nigh been bled to death.

(iv) *The Virginia Colony*

Mention has been made of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's unhappy attempt to plant a colony in North America. After his death, his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, determined to carry on his work. On March 25th, 1584, Raleigh obtained from the Queen a patent empowering him to take possession of any heathen lands not actually in the occupation of a Christian prince. The region best suited for the founding of a colony was judged to be that lying south of Newfoundland and north of the peninsula of Florida. Northward of this stretch the cold of winter was too intense, and southward of it were the Spanish territories of Mexico and the West Indies. To the whole of this coast, now forming the eastern sea-board of the United States, three names were successively applied in the sixteenth century. First, Francis I. of France, on the strength of a coasting voyage made by an Italian captain in his employ, had annexed it and named it New France. Then the name of Florida had come into favour for the entire coast-line, not only for the peninsula now so called. And finally, the Elizabethans of Raleigh's day christened it Virginia in honour of their Queen. Thus the name Virginia originally covered a much wider area than it does to-day; Raleigh's operations, in fact, were all outside the boundary of the modern state of that name.

Although the French were the first to lay claim to this vast territory, they had made only one attempt at actual occupation. In 1562 a Huguenot settlement was founded. After three years, the Spaniards raided it and massacred the settlers. Thenceforward, until 1584, Europe took no interest in the country. In that year Raleigh, having obtained his patent, despatched two captains, Amadas and Barlow, on a voyage of exploration. They made a good passage to the coast of what is now North Carolina, and examined the islands adjacent to it. They gave such a glowing report of the advantages of the land that

it was determined to despatch a colony in the following year.

Raleigh himself, eager though he was, could not obtain the Queen's permission to leave England, and the fleet was accordingly commanded by Sir Richard Grenville. Sailing with seven ships from Plymouth on April 9th, 1585, he made his passage out by way of the Canary Islands and the West Indies, arriving at the island of Roanoke, the chosen site for the colony, at the end of June. Grenville's part was merely to see the colony founded and then to lead the ships home. The permanent governor was to be Ralph Lane, an officer who had served in the Irish wars. The settlement was planted at the appointed place, while Grenville passed over to the mainland and made some explorations, in the course of which he picked a quarrel with the Indians. This had a bad effect on the subsequent fortunes of the colony. He finally sailed for England on August 25th, leaving Lane with 107 colonists behind. They did not greatly regret his departure, for they had been offended by his haughtiness and severity to all concerned in the venture. Grenville's conduct of the expedition has always been reckoned discreditable to him on this account, but those who judge him harshly should remember—what doubtless he himself never forgot—that Gilbert had failed two years before because he took too mild a tone and would not exert his authority over his unruly crews.

Sir Richard  
Grenville  
plants the first  
colony, 1585.

The colonists were at first loud in praises of their new territory, and set to work with a will to make the venture a success. But ere long their relations with the natives became bad, a serious matter in view of their scanty numbers. Grenville had promised to return with supplies and reinforcements in the following spring. He had not put in an appearance when, on June 8th, 1586, a great fleet was reported to be approaching the coast. It was Sir Francis Drake returning from his successful ravaging of the West Indies and paying a visit to Raleigh's colony on his way home. Drake generously

Drake  
relieves the  
colony.

offered the colonists anything with which it was in his power to supply them. They accepted from him a bark named the *Francis*, of 70 tons, and six smaller boats, also provisions and ammunition. Lane's intention was to remain until August, and then to sail for England if no reinforcements had by that time appeared. But while the supplies were being landed, a storm arose which drove the *Francis* out to sea. As she did not return, Drake made offer of a larger ship to the colonists. They, however, had grown faint-hearted. Their harbour was unsafe for a large vessel, and they dreaded the idea of being left without means of escape, especially as they were now at open war with the Indians. They therefore asked Drake to take them home on board his fleet. On June 19th, 1586, the first Virginia colony was abandoned. A fortnight later Grenville arrived with three relief ships, and was much enraged to find the enterprise at an end. He left fifteen volunteers behind on the island of Roanoke, with provisions to last for a year; but these bold pioneers were never heard of again.

Raleigh did not lose heart, and began preparations for a second attempt. Again he wished to lead it in person, but the Queen would not let him go. This time he appointed Captain John White to the command, and despatched him with three ships and 150 colonists in addition to the crews. The new settlement was planted on the island of Roanoke, but had the same bad fortune as the old one in its relations with the natives. Supplies also beginning to run short, Governor White sailed for England at the end of August to obtain more. He left the majority of the colonists behind him, to the number of 108, seventeen of these being women and two children. Like Grenville's fifteen, left at the same place in 1586, these persons all disappeared into the unknown, and no certain news of their fate was ever obtained. Probably they were massacred by the Indians, but there is also a possibility that they migrated to the mainland and joined forces with a tribe of friendly natives. The

chief ground for this belief is that to the present day there exists an Indian tribe lighter in complexion than the average, skilled with the bow, and speaking an English dialect which embodies several Elizabethan phrases and tricks of speech. These Indians have been claimed to be the descendants of the lost colonists.

Governor White did not return with supplies as he had promised. The threatened Spanish invasion caused the Government to retain all ocean-going ships in home waters. An exception was made in favour of two merchantmen which should have visited the colony, but they engaged in privateering by the way, and never arrived. It was not until 1590 that White was able to reach Roanoke, only to find the planters gone.

In 1589 Raleigh, who, by his own account, had expended £40,000 on these attempts, assigned his rights to a company. The latter, however, did nothing worth recording during the remainder of the reign, and Virginia was not permanently colonised until 1607. Raleigh in 1595 made a voyage in person up the Orinoco, and on his return attempted, without much success, to interest his countrymen in the exploitation of that region.

#### (v) *The East India Company*

Among the merchants of London who were gifted with imagination and foresight, the riches of Asia had never ceased to be a subject of the keenest interest.

It was in search of them that most of the explorers of the Tudor period had set out—the Cabots, Rut, Willoughby, Frohisher and Davis.

And it was now evident that there was no immediate prospect of reaching the Orient by either a North-West or a North-East Passage. The other two routes which presented themselves were those by the Straits of Magellan and the Cape of Good Hope. The former had been discovered by Spain and traversed by Drake and Cavendish, but it was so perilous as to be impracticable

The Far East  
the goal of  
most sixteenth century  
explorers.

for a regular trade ; the latter had been discovered by the Portuguese, who had jealously refused leave to any other nation to make use of it.

But between the state of affairs at the beginning and at the end of Elizabeth's reign there was a vast difference. In 1558 England had appeared weak, liable to conquest by France, and dependent for her existence upon the goodwill of Philip II. In reality things were not so bad as this, but such was the view taken by Englishmen of the time. In these circumstances, to force a trade to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope would have been a task quite beyond the power of the country to perform. But forty years later the balance of naval power had entirely changed. England was now invincible at sea ; Spain, and with her Portugal, had suffered humiliating defeats. National pride had so risen that Englishmen could believe nothing impossible to them, and English merchants could no longer be held back from engaging in the most profitable trade in the world.

Two circumstances contributed to the decision. Drake in 1579 had opened up friendly relations with the Sultan of Ternate in the spice-bearing Moluccas ; and the capture of the great Portuguese carrack in 1592 had furnished an object-lesson in the riches of the East. She contained 537 tons of spices, besides diamonds, pearls, amber, musk, silks, tapestries and satins. After many of the choicest goods had been plundered by the sailors who captured her, the remainder were found to be worth £141,000 in the money of the time, or three-quarters of a million in our own.

In 1599, therefore, an influential body of capitalists began to concert plans for the formation of a company to exploit

Foundation of the East India Com- pany.	this trade. Political considerations delayed their design, but at length, on December 31st, 1600, letters patent were issued giving formal recognition to the East India Company. The
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members were to form a joint-stock company, and were to enjoy the English monopoly of trade with the East ; and they were to push this trade in defiance of the claims of

Portugal and the Bull of Alexander VI. Already the Dutch had despatched a trading fleet in the same direction. The English Company followed their example in 1601, sending four ships under the command of Sir James Lancaster. The voyage was a brilliant success. Trading posts were established, and factors left behind to collect goods. A large profit was divided among the shareholders on Lancaster's return, but as this did not take place until after Elizabeth's death, the further history of the Company must be left for treatment in a later part of this book.

Two attempts to open up the eastern trade had preceded the formation of the Company. In 1591 Captains Raymond and Lancaster had sailed with three ships. Lancaster alone returned with a few survivors after suffering great hardships. Next, in 1596, Captain Benjamin Wood had commanded three ships on a voyage intended to reach the coasts of China. The fate of this expedition remained one of the unsolved mysteries of the sea, for not one person belonging to it was ever heard of again.

### SUMMARY

1. In the reign of Elizabeth English trade with Europe, although still flourishing, underwent great changes, and was eclipsed in relative importance by new oceanic trades.

2. England was determined to share the riches of the newly discovered regions of the world, and from 1558 to 1607 attempted to do so by legitimate trading in African and West Indian waters.

3. Spain and Portugal were resolute to uphold their claims to monopoly, and met English intrusion by force of arms. The massacre of San Juan d'Ulloa marks the definite adoption of this policy.

4. One section of English adventurers sought to avoid the Spanish and Portuguese spheres of influence by discovering a North-West Passage to Asia.

5. The other section revenged themselves for the loss of their own trade by attacking the commerce of their rivals. The war upon commerce developed into a regular warfare between England and the nations of the Peninsula.

6. The struggle was embittered by the fact that England was the leading Protestant nation, and Spain the champion of the Catholic



Church. England gave assistance to the Protestant rebels in the Netherlands.

7 The failure to find the North-West Passage caused Englishmen to attempt the colonisation of North America.

8. It also led them to an entry into East Indian trade by the only practicable route—that *via* the Cape of Good Hope.

9. The future expansion of England was rendered possible by the successes of the naval war with Spain.

### IMPORTANT DATES

1562-3. First voyage of John Hawkins to the West Indies.

1564-5. Second voyage of John Hawkins to the West Indies.

1567-8. Third voyage of Hawkins and massacre of San Juan d'Ulloa.

1569. The Merchant Adventurers leave Antwerp for Hamburg.

1572. Drake's voyage to *Nombre de Dios*.

1577-80. Drake's voyage round the world.

1576-8. Frobisher's three voyages to the North-West.

1581. Incorporation of the Turkey Company.

1583 Failure of Gilbert's attempt to colonise Newfoundland, etc.

1585. War declared by Spain.

Grenville plants Raleigh's first colony in Virginia.

1585-6. Drake's great West Indian raid.

1585-7. Davis' three voyages to the North-West.

1586-8. Thomas Cavendish's voyage round the world.

1587. The second Virginia colony.

Drake destroys shipping in Spanish ports.

1588. The Armada.

1589. Unsuccessful expedition of Drake and Norreys to Lisbon.

1592. Capture of the great carrack, the *Madre de Dios*.

1593. Incorporation of the Levant Company.

1595. Last voyage of Drake and Hawkins.

1596. Sack of Cadiz by Howard and Essex.

1600. Incorporation of the East India Company.

1601. First voyage of the East India Company.

1603. Death of Elizabeth.

## PART II. THE STUART PERIOD, 1603-1688

### THE FIRST AGE OF PEACEFUL EXPANSION

#### CHAPTER I

##### THE ENGLISH IN AMERICA, 1603-1660

###### (i) *Changed Conditions*

WHEN James I. succeeded to the English throne, one of his first cares was to take measures for ending the long struggle with Spain. Naval and military operations had been feebly conducted on either side for several years, and both nations were ripe for peace. The treaty signed in 1601, although it gave the English no rights of trade in Spanish waters, was nevertheless a testimony of English victory in the contest. Spain had made peace without attaining the object with which Philip II. had begun the war—the conquest and destruction of England as a naval power. On the contrary, England was more powerful than ever, the Bull of Alexander VI. was waste paper, and the future of English expansion was secure from interference by Spain and Portugal. The rivals of the coming time were to be first the Dutch and afterwards the French.

End of the  
"Spanish"  
period of  
English  
expansion.

In one respect the new era lacks the exuberant vigour of the Elizabethan age. The school of Drake was dead. One by one the great fighting captains had passed away: Grenville had been slain at the Azores in 1591, Frobisher died of a wound received at Crozon in 1594, Drake and Hawkins were buried at sea in the following year, Essex was executed

for treason in 1601. Raleigh alone remained, a prisoner in the Tower for the first thirteen years of the new reign, and only to be released for one last unhappy venture whose failure was punished by his death. But although Drake and his men were no more, their work remained. The peace-loving merchants, who had often raised protests at his broils and piracies, could pursue their way in security, thanks to the respect he had won for the English flag.

The task of the immediate future, then, was for the colonists and the great trading companies to perform. It

A religious  
element in  
expansion  
under the  
Stuarts.

was for them to find an outlet for the growing population and manufactures of the country.

As time went on, emigration was stimulated by religious cleavage among the Protestants of England. James I. and his son adopted a

harsh policy towards the numerous and increasing sects whose consciences forbade them to conform to the usages of the Established Church. The name of Puritans came to be applied to all these non-Anglican Protestants, and the Puritans crossed the Atlantic in considerable numbers during the Stuart period. They formed an excellent type of colonist—steadfast, brave and self-reliant—and their institutions and habits of life became firmly rooted in the New England colonies. Virginia and the more southern settlements adjoining were not populated by Puritan emigrants, and evolved a different kind of social order.

In England itself the outstanding features of the new period were the constitutional struggle between the Crown

Breach  
between  
King and  
Parliament.

and Parliament for the control of taxation, and the growing indignation at the extreme claims of the Church of England. The reign of James I. is one long wrangle between King

and Commons as to the extent of the royal prerogative. In that of his son the financial issue continues, but is soon eclipsed by the religious one, and the two combined drive King and Parliament into civil war. The effect of these disputes upon English expansion was that neither James nor Charles found leisure to pursue an active policy in

## THE VIRGINIA COMPANY

commercial or colonial affairs. Private enterprise, as before, was left to do the pioneer work. Progress was therefore slow, but probably none the less sure on that account. As will be seen in a later time, when the English empire in North America, built almost entirely by the efforts of private subjects, measured its strength with that of France, it was the latter and not the former which fell.

One incident of the fiscal dispute between James I. and his Commons is important. Early in his reign the question of monopolies was hotly debated, and those of the trading companies were for a time in danger of being lost. But, however unjustifiable the granting of monopolies in internal industry and manufactures might be considered, it was realised that in distant and dangerous over-sea trades they were both just and necessary. In the end, all the great merchant companies for foreign trade were able to retain their privileges, although not without modification in some cases.

### (ii) *Virginia*

Since the disappearance of Raleigh's second Virginia colony in 1587, little had been done to carry out the plans which he had originated. Desultory visits had been paid to the coast in search of news of the lost colonists, but no further attempts to occupy the territory had been made. After the restoration of peace, the prospects of the colonising party became more favourable, and in 1606 James I. chartered two companies for the purpose of planting settlements on the American coast between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude. This great extent of coast-line, which comprises the American states of the present day from Maine to North Carolina, was all included under the name of Virginia, although circumstances were presently to give the word a more restricted use. The two undertakings were known as the London and Plymouth Companies. The London Company was to take the southern section of the

Revival of  
colonising  
projects.

assigned area, while that of Plymouth was to develop the northern part. In the outcome the Plymouth Company did little on its own account, contenting itself with subletting its powers to more vigorous associations. It was the London Company which founded the permanent colony of Virginia, and which we may name henceforward the Virginia Company.

In one respect the terms of the Company's charter were unfortunate. It was laid down that the colony should be governed by a supreme council in London, appointing another council for administration upon the spot. This division of authority naturally produced disputes when put into practice. The Company itself was to have certain mining and trading rights for twenty-one years, and all lands were to be worked as common property for five years, after which the settlers might become individual owners of estates. The established religion of the colony was to be that of the Church of England. The first batch of colonists, 143 in number, set sail from London in December, 1606, in three ships under the command of Captain Christopher Newport.

Arriving on the Virginia coast in April, 1607, the expedition passed by the islands which had been the scene of the Elizabethan attempts, and entered Chesapeake Bay. The adventurers disembarked at a point fifty miles up a river, which they named after their King, and set about the foundation of Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement in America. The councillors who were to govern it were seven in number, the most memorable name being that of Captain John Smith, at that time under twenty-eight years of age. In spite of his youth, Smith, who had served as a soldier of fortune in wars against the Turks, and gained a reputation for common sense and hardihood, quickly proved himself to be the best man in the expedition. But for his exertions, the enterprise would certainly have collapsed in the first few months.

From the outset the colonists suffered from Indian attacks and lack of food. Smith, at great personal risk, led expeditions into the interior to explore and procure corn from the natives. In one of these he was captured, but was clever enough to secure his release by promising a ransom of two guns and a grindstone. Dissensions broke out among his comrades, some of whom had come out under the impression that gold was everywhere waiting to be picked up. Disappointment, famine and disease had killed two-thirds of their number before Captain Newport arrived once more with reinforcements. Smith's ability soon secured his election as president of the Council. During his term of office he erected fortifications against Indian attack, organised food supplies, and to some extent restored discipline. At its expiry in September, 1609, he returned to England, the government of the colony having in that year been reconstituted and placed in other hands.

The early troubles of the settlement had been due partly to the inherent difficulties of the undertaking, partly to the misconduct of the adventurers themselves. England by no means lost sight of them, for there was now no foreign war to distract public attention. In 1609 it was realised that the colony could not continue to exist in its present precarious state, and that an extensive effort must be put forth to save it. The original promoters secured the alliance of other influential persons, and a new charter of incorporation was obtained from the Crown. Under this charter the control was to be in the hands of a council in England and a Governor with supreme power upon the spot. The first Governor so appointed was Lord Delaware. Previous to the latter's departure, a fleet of nine vessels set sail in June 1609 under Captain Newport, Sir George Somers and Sir Thomas Gates. The three chief commanders, who all sailed in the same ship, were wrecked upon the Bermuda Islands, but other vessels of the fleet arrived at the colony in time

Sufferings  
of the  
colonists.

England  
determines to  
support the  
colony.

to relieve its more pressing necessities. It was after their appearance that John Smith took his departure.

In the meanwhile, Sir George Somers and his companions, who were thought to have been drowned at sea, were build-  
 Somers at ing two vessels at Bermuda from the timbers  
 Bermuda. of their own wreck. After ten months on the island, they were able to resume the voyage to Virginia, where they arrived in May 1610. Eight months had elapsed since Smith's departure, and the best testimony to his qualities as a ruler is furnished by the deplorable state into which the colony fell under his successors. Work of all kinds had been neglected, and famine had carried off the majority of the five hundred men he had left there. Somers and Gates reluctantly decided that nothing more could be done and that Jamestown must be abandoned. They had actually left the place, and were sailing down the river with all hands, when they encountered Lord Delaware  
 Lord Dela- fresh from England with three ships and 150  
 ware saves new settlers. Delaware's arrival marks the  
 the colony. turning-point in the early fortunes of Virginia.

He at once assumed supreme authority, led the disheartened men back to Jamestown, and infused new vigour into the colony. Thenceforward progress, although slow, was continuous, and there was no more talk of giving up.

Lord Delaware's good work was all done in less than a year. In 1611 a breakdown of his health compelled him  
 The crisis to return to England. He left in command  
 passed. Sir Thomas Dale, an old soldier of the Netherlands wars, whose four years' rule is chiefly noteworthy for the strict discipline which he enforced on the colonists. He tolerated no idleness, and crushed the beginnings of a revolt by executing eight of the ringleaders. The colony now began to spread beyond its original limits, subordinate townships being founded on the numerous rivers flowing into Chesapeake Bay. The most profitable occupation was found to be the cultivation of tobacco, the export of which increased by leaps and bounds. To such an extent did tobacco growing monopolise the energy of the colony that

the planting of corn was neglected, and a serious danger of famine had once more to be faced. The difficulty was met by forcing the neighbouring Indian tribes to pay a tribute of corn.

The next steps in the evolution of the colony were the allotment of separate estates to those who had resources to work them (1615), and the calling of an assembly elected by the freemen to exercise some share in the government (1619). <sup>The Virginian Assembly,</sup> 1619.

The effects of Dale's stern control had been lasting, and there was now no reason for deferring the grant of the system of government normal to Englishmen in all parts of the world. Accordingly, on July 30th, 1619, Governor Yeardley, his own powers limited by a permanent council, called together an assembly composed of two burgesses chosen by each of the eleven townships which then composed the colony. The miniature parliament, in which Governor, council and assembly corresponded to King, lords and commons at home, completed the resemblance by choosing a speaker, sergeant-at-arms and clerk. Thus was inaugurated the first of the numerous offspring of the mother of parliaments.

In the meantime the liberal policy of the Virginia Company had offended King James, now hopelessly at variance with his own Commons. He determined to abolish a corporation whose conduct he de- <sup>Abolition of the Company,</sup> 1624-  
nounced as seditious. The charter was de-

clared void in 1624, and thereafter the Governor was nominated by the Crown. There is evidence that Spanish intrigues helped to bring the King to this decision. It was unjust to the shareholders to deprive them of their profits at a time when they were only beginning to recoup the losses of the earlier years; and the soundness of their rule is shown by the fact that the colonists themselves desired its continuance.

Population steadily increased, negro slaves were introduced to work on the tobacco plantations, and criminals and political offenders were also sent from England for the same purpose. These latter worked as indentured servants,



and obtained their liberty after a fixed term of years. As the frontier advanced inland, the older parts were freed from the Indian peril, although two terrible massacres of outlying settlers took place in 1622 and 1644. Gradually a state of society similar to that of rural England of the period was developed. The great planters became an aristocracy living on their estates in dignified ease and culture. Puritanism, in spite of one or two attempts, made no headway against the Established Church.

As might be expected, the civil war between Charles I. and Parliament was regarded by the majority of the Virginians as an unjustifiable rebellion. Their royalist sympathies led them to recognise Charles II. as King on the execution of his father in 1649. But they were not prepared to fight for their convictions, and a show of force by the Commonwealth reduced them to obedience.

At the time of the restoration, the population of the colony amounted to about 40,000, including negroes and Fifty years' indentured servants. Eighty ships annually progress. carried the tobacco crop of 12,000,000 lb. to England. Five forts and a force of militia served for defence, and the spiritual welfare of the people was in the hands of forty-eight parish ministers. Truly the heart of Raleigh would have rejoiced if he had lived to see the outcome of his work.

### (iii) *Maryland*

The colony of Maryland, although its foundation was preceded in point of time by that of the Puritan settlements Lord of New England, may conveniently be treated Baltimore. next to Virginia on account of its resemblance to the latter in natural and social conditions. Its origin was due to the initiative of Sir George Calvert, a secretary of state to James I., who resigned his office on becoming a Roman Catholic, but nevertheless retained the confidence of the King. Calvert was created Lord Baltimore in 1625. Like Raleigh, he was convinced that English colonisation in America should be vigorously pushed, and that it was

the duty of England's prominent men to take the lead and expend their lives and fortunes in the enterprise.

After unsuccessful efforts to plant settlers in Newfoundland and in Virginia itself, Baltimore obtained from Charles I., in 1632, a grant of the unoccupied territory immediately to the north of the settled colony of Virginia. It was by the King's own wish that the region was named Maryland in honour of his wife, Queen Henrietta Maria. Charles' own view of the duties of noblemen was curiously at variance with that of Raleigh and Baltimore: "Men of your condition and breeding," he wrote to the latter, "are fitter for other employments than the framing of new plantations, which commonly have rugged and laborious beginnings"; and he proceeded to urge his subject to give up the difficult attempt and return to a life of ease in England. Baltimore had no intention of taking his sovereign's advice, but a few days after the framing of his grant his career was cut short by death. The execution of the project then devolved upon his eldest son, the second Lord Baltimore.

The charter of Maryland differed absolutely from that under which the Virginia Company had begun its operations. In this case there was no company, and the Maryland a founder was designated proprietor of the proprietary colony. He and his heirs were to hold it on colony. condition of fealty only to the Crown of England. They were to pay no rent, neither could the Crown levy taxes within their jurisdiction. The proprietor had further the right of making such laws as he thought fit, with the advice of the freemen of the colony. This clause foreshadowed the erection of some system of parliamentary government as in Virginia, but the framing of the future constitution lay entirely within the discretion of the proprietor. One more novel departure must be mentioned. In Maryland a policy of religious toleration was adopted fully half a century earlier than in the mother country itself. The Lords Baltimore, themselves Catholics, appointed Protestant officials indifferently with those of their own faith, and the colony was thrown open to settlers of all Christian creeds.

Maryland passed through its early critical years with far less suffering and adversity than had fallen to the lot of Virginia. The settlers themselves seem to have been of a better stamp, and the old vicious idea that fortunes could be made in a few months without any labour had now died out. The colonists of 1632 profited by the errors and experience of their predecessors, and settled down to a life of steady progress. Gradually the Virginian system of large estates worked by slave or indentured labour was evolved. Political institutions also were of gradual growth, but eventually the usual system of division of powers between Governor, council and popular assembly was established. In contrast to the early abolition of the Company's rule in Virginia, the proprietary rights of Maryland continued to be enjoyed by the Baltimore family throughout the seventeenth century, if we except a short period of suspension under the Commonwealth. By the year 1700 the Catholic element had almost disappeared, and the population of Maryland approximated very closely in character to that of Virginia and the Carolinas.

At first the Virginians were inclined to look upon the settlement on their northern frontier as an infringement of their own rights. Their original charters had given them a much wider stretch of territory than they had actually occupied, and in strict truth Lord Baltimore was taking up lands which did legally belong to Virginia. But it was also true that he had been willing at first to place his settlement under the jurisdiction of Virginia, and that the latter had cast him out. With the Dutch busily engaged in planting colonies on the American coast-line it was no time for dog-in-the-manger grievances to be listened to, and the Virginians secured scant attention to their complaints. Their claims to Maryland territory were not finally abandoned until 1656. At one time feeling ran so high between the two colonies that actual hostilities broke out, and sharp actions took place by land and sea.

The region lying to the south of Virginia had already been marked down as the scene of a further English enter-

prise. In 1629 Charles I. made a grant of it to Sir Robert Heath, who named it Carolina in honour of his sovereign. But circumstances prevented Heath from The Southern acting upon his rights, and nothing was done Group. in this direction until the reign of Charles II. In that

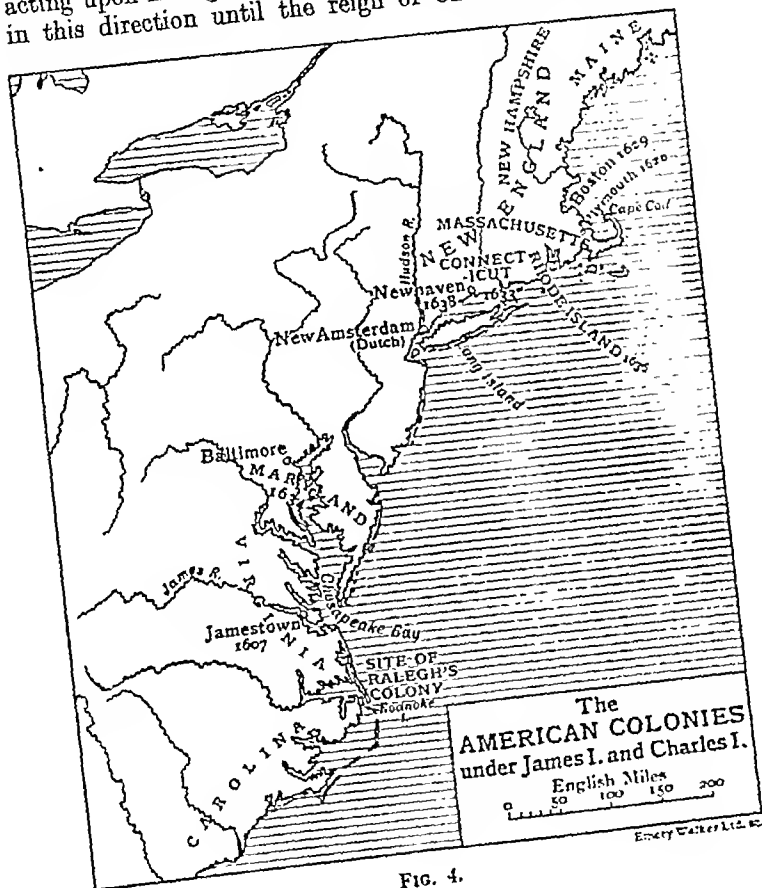


FIG. 4.

place, therefore, the colonisation of Carolina will be considered. When it was accomplished, it formed, with

Virginia and Maryland and the eighteenth century colony of Georgia, a homogeneous block of states which we may call the Southern Group, differing in very important respects from the northern or Puritan colonies to which we have now to turn our attention.

#### (iv) *The New England Colonies*

The incidents of English expansion which have been hitherto considered have had for their motive power either Motives for the desire to expand trade, and so to increase colonisation, the national wealth, or the ambition on the part of patriotic leaders of men to plant the English flag and portions of the English race in new regions of the earth, and so to make England a more powerful member of the civilised community than she could be if she remained confined to the natural limits of the British Isles. In one word, the motives of the Tudor merchants, of Frobisher, Raleigh, Delaware and Baltimore had been secular. Although the early advocates of colonisation, in order to appeal to as many minds as possible, had sometimes laid stress on the good work of Christianising the savages, in practice little had been done in this connection, and religion had been an entirely subordinate factor in English expansion. But towards the end of the reign of James I., colonising bands began to cross the Atlantic whose sole motive was religious, composed of men who would never have been tempted to quit their native land by any other consideration. These religious exiles founded the group of colonies between Dutch New Amsterdam and French Acadia, which came to be known as the New England Colonies.

Even before James ascended the throne, Puritanism had become a growing power in English religious life. At first The the majority of the Puritans remained within Puritans. the Anglican Church, hoping to secure their desired reforms from within. Their failure to influence the King at the Hampton Court Conference (1604) greatly prejudiced the prospects of this party, and in ever increasing

numbers they joined the ranks of the separatists, who made little pretence at outward conformity. The aim of the separatists was to worship in independent congregations, each managing its own affairs, appointing its own minister, and owing no allegiance to any bishop or outside authority. James I., sympathising entirely with the most extreme claims of the Anglican clergy, had no intention of permitting any such worship in his kingdom. For the separatists, therefore, there was the hard choice of violating their consciences by conformity, of enduring fines and imprisonment, or of quitting their native land altogether. The latter alternative was chosen by many, and it is with their fortunes that we have to deal.

The United Netherlands, fresh from their triumphant assertion of independence against Catholic Spain, offered an asylum to the exiles. Some congregations emigrated to Amsterdam, others to Leyden. <sup>The separatists</sup> In doing so, their members frequently gave up <sup>in the</sup> all their worldly prospects. <sup>Netherlands.</sup> In England they were mostly farmers and tradesmen. They could not take their means of livelihood with them, and had to begin life again as craftsmen in the busy Dutch towns. The majority of these emigrants came from the eastern counties of England, and, in particular, from Lincolnshire. After a few years' residence, the Leyden congregation became dissatisfied with the conditions of life in the Netherlands. They had, it is true, toleration, but they were a small band placed in the midst of a nation whose ways of life they did not altogether approve, and their sons showed a tendency to stray from the straight path and engage in the dissipations of town life, or to enlist in the armies of the Dutch Republic. Accordingly they came to a determination to leave Europe altogether, and seek a new home in some remote region across the Atlantic where they might work out their salvation undisturbed.

At this date (1619), before the foundation of Maryland, the rights of the London Company of Virginia extended as far north as to include the present coast of New Jersey.

The Plymouth Company, which had rights over the coast-line north of this point, had done nothing effective to develop them, although Captain John Smith had surveyed the coast in their service after quitting Virginia. The Leyden congregation decided to apply to the London Company for permission to settle in the extreme northern limits of its territories, near the mouth of the Hudson River. In 1619 the bargain was struck, and in the following year the pioneers of the scheme, known to posterity as the Pilgrim Fathers, completed the preparations for their voyage. As they were destitute of funds, they had to enter into an arrangement with some English capitalists to finance their colony on somewhat hard terms.

At length a start was made from Southampton by 102 pioneers in two small vessels, the *Mayflower* and the *Speed-Voyage of the well*. The latter sprang a leak and had to be 'Mayflower,' left at Plymouth, whence the *Mayflower* finally sailed alone on September 6th, 1620. The American coast was reached somewhat to the north of the intended destination. The master of the *Mayflower* then announced that for nautical reasons he could not take his passengers to the Hudson River. The ship was therefore turned northwards, and was finally anchored in the bay formed by the peninsula of Cape Cod. Here, in December, the Pilgrim Fathers formed their settlement on the shore of a natural harbour which they named Plymouth. Force of circumstances had placed them far to the north of the intended spot, and well out of the jurisdiction of the London Virginia Company.

The severity of the first winter proved fatal to half the little band, but the rest continued undaunted. Under The Plymouth William Bradford, chosen by themselves as Colony. Governor, the colony prospered, although it produced no such valuable crop as the tobacco of Virginia. The obligations to the English capitalists lapsed in 1627, at which time also the land, previously worked in common, was divided among the several households. At first the

Governor summoned all the heads of families to deliberate on public affairs, but as the colony extended, and fresh townships were formed, a representative assembly, elected by the freemen, came into being as in the other English colonies. An upper chamber was also evolved from the five assistants of the Governor.

Plymouth remained always a colony content with a quiet and somewhat unprogressive existence, its character permanently stamped with the patience and gentleness of its leading founders. It was soon overshadowed by the bustling energy of its younger neighbour, Massachusetts. It was finally absorbed by the latter in 1691.

Soon after the departure of the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620, the old Plymouth Company of Virginia had been reincorporated as the Council for New England with enlarged privileges equalling those of the London Virginia Company. The New England Council, 1620. The New England Council was thus the owner of the soil upon which the Pilgrim Fathers had planted their colony. In 1621 legal recognition was duly sought for and obtained by the settlers at Plymouth. During the years following the establishment of Plymouth, various small settlements were attempted on the coasts to the north of that place. All failed from one cause or another to take root, and it was not until 1628-9 that the next permanent colony was founded.

In the former year a body of influential Puritans obtained a patent from the New England Council, allowing them to make a settlement in their territory. The leading men of this movement were John Endicott and John Winthrop, a Suffolk squire. The Massachusetts Bay Company, 1628-9. It is to be noted that they were not separatists like the Plymouth men, but remained nominally members of the Church of England. They were also men of greater wealth and social position than the Pilgrim Fathers, and from the beginning managed their affairs with more energy and aggressiveness. The new patentees formed themselves into an association called the Massachusetts Bay Company, and in 1629 obtained a charter from the Crown by which



their government was to be established. The arrangements contemplated were somewhat similar to those of the Virginia Company, the shareholders at home appointing a Governor and assistants in the colony. Endicott had already gone out in 1628 at the head of sixty pioneers; 350 more followed in 1629; and before the end of the same year a novel step was resolved upon. The whole of the shareholders transferred themselves with their Governor to the other side of the Atlantic, and the company in England ceased to exist.

The result of this astute move was that the Company and the colony became one and the same thing, and the latter became at a stroke a fully self-governing community, with power to choose not only its own assembly, as in the case of Virginia, but also its own Governor and council. Massachusetts thus became for practical purposes an almost independent state, and successfully pursued a line of policy in direct opposition to that of the Stuart Kings of England.

When the transference of 1629 took place, John Winthrop was chosen Governor. On his arrival in the colony, he fixed the headquarters at Boston. Numerous other townships rapidly sprang up, populated by a continuous stream of emigrants from England. The years 1629-40 were the period of Charles I.'s personal government—the eleven years' tyranny, as his opponents called it—during which no parliament was summoned. To many it seemed that constitutional government had been abolished for ever in England, and that an absolute monarchy like that of France had been successfully erected. The wildest visionary could scarcely have dreamed that within a few more years the Parliament would return triumphant, would conquer and behead the King, and would set up a government of those very Puritans whom Strafford and Laud were now trampling under their feet. In these depressing circumstances, thousands of Puritans preferred to emigrate rather than to submit to tyranny. They carried

Extensive  
Puritan  
emigration,  
1629-40.

sufficient of their wealth across the Atlantic to ensure that Massachusetts should become a thriving settlement. By the year 1640 its population had reached 20,000, a growth which eclipsed that of Virginia and left Plymouth far behind.

The men of Massachusetts had left England in a spirit of gloomy defiance of the tyranny of the Anglican Church and the King who gave it his support. They had suffered from persecution in England, but their sufferings had not imbued them with any love of toleration. The leading men of the Puritan colony proceeded at once to set up as strict a religious tyranny as Laud had done at home. The nominal adherence of the founders to the Church of England was soon lost sight of, and worship at Massachusetts became congregational in type. When a popular assembly was elected to assist the Governor in directing affairs, it was speedily enacted that no man should enjoy any political rights unless he were a member of the Church. Irreligious and dissolute persons were expelled without mercy from the colony, and minorities who differed from the general Church on minute points of Calvinistic teaching were harshly treated and frequently banished. The climax of religious tyranny was reached when certain unfortunate Quakers made their appearance. They were imprisoned, isolated as if suffering from an infectious plague, scourged and finally expelled. Four, indeed, were hanged.

Puritan  
tyranny in  
Massa-  
chusetts.

In other respects Massachusetts became an admirable colony. The inhabitants were industrious, extremely businesslike, and in non-religious matters little given to agitation or discontent. Towards the strife in the mother country, they adopted an attitude of neutrality. They did not, as they might have been expected to do, show any extravagant sympathy for the cause of the Parliament during the Civil War, and on the restoration of Charles II. they obtained a confirmation of their charter. A progressive educational policy was adopted. Within seven years of the colony's foundation, the college of Harvard was endowed with

public money, and public schools were established in most of the townships. In addition to agriculture, fur trading with the Indians, the sale of timber from the primeval forests, and the fisheries of the coast provided employment for the population. Ere long a brisk coasting trade sprang up with the neighbouring colonies and with the West Indies.

The rapid stream of Puritan emigration to Massachusetts soon caused the most desirable lands in that colony to be taken up. Accordingly, it was not long before pioneer bands began to wander south of parallel 42° N., the southern boundary of Massachusetts, in search of better sites for settlement. The valley of the Connecticut River had already been marked out as their own by the Dutch of New Amsterdam and Long Island, but the scattered Dutch settlers were soon ousted by the more numerous Englishmen who crowded in upon them. The first English communities on the Connecticut were founded in 1633. They remained affiliated to Massachusetts until 1638, when they declared themselves to be the separate colony of Connecticut. In the meantime, John Davenport, another Massachusetts man, had founded the settlement of New Haven further westwards along the coast in the direction of the Dutch territories. New Haven remained a separate community until 1662, when it was merged in the colony of Connecticut. These extensions of New England were modelled, in religion, government and social conditions, on the example of Massachusetts.

Of a different type was the little colony of Rhode Island, lying midway between Connecticut and Plymouth. In 1635 a young Puritan clergyman of Massachusetts, Roger Williams, found himself unable to agree with his fellow colonists on certain doctrinal points. Massachusetts Puritanism would permit no independence of teaching within its boundaries, and the intolerant majority silenced Williams by pronouncing sentence of banishment. He moved southwards with some

Connecticut  
and New  
Haven,  
1633-8.

Rhode Island  
a tolerant  
colony, 1636.

adherents, and in 1636 laid the foundations of the colony of Rhode Island or, as he named it, Providence. The settlements eventually covered the island which gave its name to the colony, and also the coasts of the mainland adjacent to it. Rhode Island was unique among the New England colonies in allowing complete liberty of conscience, and in keeping politics entirely apart from religion. On this account it was treated as an outcast by its neighbours, and allowed no part in the common measures for defence against Dutch and Indians taken by the remaining New England states.

The country lying to the north of Massachusetts, and stretching as far as the French region of Acadia, was kept directly under the control of the New England Council until that body terminated its career in 1635. Various isolated and, for the most part, unsuccessful attempts had been made to settle it, and it was broadly divided into two regions known as New Hampshire and Maine. As stated above, the New England Council dissolved in 1635, granting its somewhat shadowy rights in shares to the individuals who composed it. The district of Maine fell to the share of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the most prominent members of the Council. In 1639 he strengthened his position by obtaining from Charles I. proprietary rights similar to those of Lord Baltimore in Maryland. Gorges had done little more than devise a constitution for the scattered settlements of woodcutters and fishermen already existing in Maine when the Civil War broke out in England. He expended all his energies in fighting for the King, and died in the course of the contest. The result was that the Maine settlements, together with those of New Hampshire, fell ultimately under the power of Massachusetts. New Hampshire afterwards regained its independence, but Maine was administered by Massachusetts until the colonies were separated from England in 1783.

The foundation of the several New England colonies has now been briefly traced ; it remains to say a few words as

to their peculiar characteristics. These are best illustrated by comparison with Virginia and Maryland. In New

**Contrast between New England and Virginia.** England agricultural conditions were more similar to those of the mother country than in Virginia. Consequently, farms remained comparatively small, and no large estates like

those of the Virginia planters were developed. Again, in New England slavery was almost unknown; the climate was suitable for manual labour by white men, and the inhabitants remained hardy and self-reliant without the temptation to indolence which slaves provided. But it is in politics and religion that the difference between New England and Virginia is most apparent. The Virginians were loyalists with no grudge against England, supporters of the Anglican Church, and ruled mainly by a Governor appointed by the English Crown. The New Englanders, on the other hand, were dissenters who had left their homes generally on account of religious persecution. They had no great love for the King of England, his court, or his officials; and they were subject to scarcely any control by the King, because their Governors were chosen, not by the Crown, but by the colonists themselves. The tie which bound them to the mother country was evidently of the slightest, and would certainly snap if subjected to any great strain. To sum up: the southern colonies were aristocratic, secular in their government, and largely subject to home control; the New England colonies were democratic, their politics were closely intertwined with their religion, and they had almost complete self-government.

In 1643, at the suggestion of Connecticut, a federation of the four colonies of Connecticut, New Haven, Plymouth and

**The New England Federation, 1643.** Massachusetts was formed. Its object was to provide for joint measures against the Dutch and the Indians. Rhode Island applied for admission to the league, but was refused on account of its religious toleration. The federated colonies contributed men and money in time of need in proportion to their population. Massachusetts, as the most populous,

found the largest quota, and generally took the lead. Dutch aggression in the direction of Connecticut was successfully resisted, but frequently the combination was marred by the jealous manner in which each state sought to preserve its own independence.

(v) *The West Indies*

The earliest English settlements in the West Indies and the neighbouring islands were made in the period 1603-1660. The first group to be so colonised, the Bermudas, lie some 10° north of the West Indies. They were annexed by the Virginia Company after the shipwreck of Sir George Somers upon them in 1609. After a few years their exploitation was undertaken by a separate corporation, the Somers' Islands Company, which was not dissolved until 1684. Since that date the Bermudas have been a Crown Colony.

In the West Indies themselves the Spaniards had more than a century's start over all competitors from the date of Columbus' first discovery in 1492. During that period they contented themselves with taking possession of the larger islands only—Cuba, Hispaniola (Hayti), and Porto Rico. In Jamaica they had no colonists in the true sense, but only a few hunters of the wild cattle, descendants of animals originally introduced by the Spaniards themselves. These were allowed to increase into huge herds, and were then killed for their hides. The smaller West Indian islands were, therefore, open to English colonisation, although, of course, Spain still claimed the sole right to navigate these seas.

In 1605 a landing was effected in Barbados, but its active colonisation was not taken in hand until 1624. The undertaking prospered amazingly, and within a few years the population bade fair to rival that of Virginia. As in that colony, development tended towards the formation of large estates, mainly for sugar-growing; slave labour was in demand from the first, and was furnished by negroes from West Africa, and by white unfor-

tunates from England, kidnapped or sent abroad as a punishment for crime. During the civil wars and rebellions of the seventeenth century, exile to "the Barbadoes" was a favourite means of disposing of prisoners of war.

During the first half of the century several other islands of the lesser Antilles were occupied by English settlers—St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat, Antigua, St. Lucia and Barbuda. In each case the general progress was similar to that of Barbados, sugar-growing by slave labour being the principal industry. At the same time, French pioneers were also at work in the West Indies, and several islands adjacent to the English ones fell to their share. During the long wars between England and France in the eighteenth century these islands repeatedly changed hands, according as one or the other combatant possessed the greater naval force. Statesmen in Europe were inclined to overrate their importance, and the policy of "filching sugar islands" often eclipsed more serious matters. A case in point was the proposal in 1763 to exchange Canada for concessions in the West Indies.

In addition to the Lesser Antilles, a beginning was made before 1660 of the occupation of the Bahama group, lying Conquest of to the north of Cuba. But the most important Jamaica, 1655. English acquisition in this region was a spoil of war. In 1654 Cromwell despatched an expedition under Admiral Penn and General Venables to attack Hispaniola, still, as in the days of Drake, the Spanish headquarters in the Indies. The expedition was an unhappy one. The commanders disagreed, the men fell sick and became mutinous, and everything went awry. A force was landed at Hispaniola, but fell into an ambush on its march to the capital, and retreated in confusion to the ships. Penn and Venables decided to abandon the undertaking, but seized Jamaica as some compensation before sailing for home (May 1655). The importance of their conquest was not at first realised, and both commanders were sent to the Tower for their incompetence. The early history of the English colony in Jamaica is a melancholy catalogue of famine and

pestilence. Several successive governors, and by far the greater number of the original settlers, died before a firm grip of the problem was obtained and the prosperity of the island established.

### SUMMARY

1. The opening of the Stuart period marks the end of the struggle with Spain, and the beginning of civil strife in England between King and Parliament.

2. Virginia and Maryland were colonised by the same type of adventurers as Raleigh and the Elizabethans.

3. Harsh treatment of the Puritans under James I. and Charles I. led to the establishment of the Puritan New England colonies.

4. The New Englanders left the mother country under a sense of grievance, and had consequently little loyalty and affection for her.

5. The colonies as a whole took no active part in the Civil War, and their position was therefore not greatly influenced by the Restoration.

6. By 1600 the English had obtained a firm foothold in the West Indies.

### IMPORTANT DATES

1606. Incorporation of the London and Plymouth Virginia Companies.

1607. Permanent settlement of Virginia.

1609. Sir George Somers wrecked on the Bermudas.

1619. Beginning of self-government in Virginia.

1620. The Pilgrim Fathers found the Plymouth Colony.  
The New England Council.

1624. Abolition of the Virginia Company.  
Colonisation of Barbados.

1625. Death of James I. Accession of Charles I.

1628-9. Foundation of Massachusetts.

1632. Foundation of Maryland.

1633-8. Foundation of Connecticut and New Haven.

1636. Foundation of Rhode Island



1640. The summoning of the Long Parliament checks Puritan emigration owing to the revival of their hopes in England.
1642. Beginning of the Civil War in England.
1643. The New England Federation.
1649. Execution of Charles I.
- 1649-53. The Commonwealth
- 1653-9. The Protectorate.
1655. Conquest of Jamaica
1660. Restoration of Charles II.

## CHAPTER II

### OCEANIC TRADE AND EXPLORATION IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

#### (i) *The East India Company*

The East India Company received its charter and sent forth its first expedition to the East about two years before Elizabeth's death. It must be understood that the mainland of India itself was not the goal of the early efforts of the Company. That country was considered as inferior in commercial importance to the islands forming the Eastern Archipelago—Sumatra, Java, Celebes and the Moluccas. These islands were the greatest spice-producing region in the world, and spices were then the most valuable merchandise with which a ship could be loaded. The early voyages of the East India Company were thus made to the islands, and trade with India proper was looked upon as quite a subordinate branch of the business.

Importance of  
the East  
Indian  
Archipelago.

In the islands the earliest European power to open up trade had been Portugal, and the Portuguese naturally claimed the sole monopoly of navigating the eastern seas. This claim had already, before the appearance of the English, been challenged by the Dutch, whose East India trade dates from 1595. England, then, was the third power in order of time to enter the trade, and she found persistent enemies in both her predecessors. Portugal and the Portuguese colonies had, since 1580, been under the rule of the Kings of Spain. The long Elizabethan war had already taught them to

The Portu-  
guese and the  
Dutch.

respect the might of England at sea, and in the East the English were generally successful against their Portuguese rivals. With the Dutch it was different. They were the stiffest fighters and the most unscrupulous traders of their day. They were determined to be the sole owners of the Eastern Archipelago, and their government gave its entire support to the pretensions of their East India Company. The result was that in little more than twenty years they had driven the English from the islands, the majority of which are Dutch possessions to the present day. It is the history of this first period, in which the English relinquished the island trade and turned to the mainland itself, that has now to be considered.

On April 22nd, 1601, Sir James Lancaster sailed from Torbay with four ships forming the first venture of the East India Company. His largest vessel was the *Red Dragon*, of 600 tons, a private warship purchased from the Earl of Cumberland, who had built her as a destroyer of Spanish commerce. The freight of Lancaster's squadron consisted of English manufactured goods to the value of £6,860, together with £28,742 in coined silver, with which cloves and pepper were to be purchased in the islands. Thirteen months after leaving England, Lancaster arrived safely at Achin in Sumatra. There he was disappointed in obtaining pepper, the local crop having failed, but he soon afterwards fell in with a large Portuguese carrack, which he captured and despoiled of her cargo. He completed the lading of his ships at the other islands, left English factors at Bantam in Java to collect cargoes for the next voyage, and safely made the long homeward passage, arriving in England in September 1603. So valuable was every grain of his lading that the dockers who discharged the ships in the Thames were provided with special suits of clothes *without pockets* at the Company's expense.

At the time of Lancaster's return, the Company was in somewhat low water. The first voyage, it is true, yielded eventually a handsome profit—95 per cent. in all—but it

was several years before this was apparent, as the goods could only be slowly disposed of. Some difficulty was, therefore, experienced in raising money for the second expedition, which sailed in 1604. The second voyage, 1604-6. In March of that year Captain Henry Middleton sailed with four ships, with cargo and money amounting to only one-third of that carried on the first voyage. He made a prosperous trip, loaded pepper and cloves at Bantam and Amboyna, and reached England again in 1606.

This system of separate "voyages," each financed by a separate subscription of capital, continued until 1612. The third voyage, that of 1607, yielded the enormous profit of 234 per cent. Other early expeditions. The fourth, on the other hand, was an absolute failure, both the ships concerned being lost at sea. In 1609 James I. granted the Company a new charter, by which they were allowed a perpetual monopoly of the eastern trade instead of one for fifteen years as promised by Elizabeth. In spite of this, James was not always to be relied upon by the Company. In 1604 a most mischievous adventure had been entered upon by his permission. In the summer of that year Sir Edward Michelborne, an interloper, *i.e.* not a member of the Company, had sailed for the East and entered upon a career of piracy in the islands. He returned in 1606, having robbed not only Dutchmen, but also Chinese and other natives, with the result that discredit fell upon all Englishmen, and their interests were severely damaged. The Company never obtained any redress against Michelborne. For the sixth voyage, in 1610, the enormous capital of £82,000 was subscribed. The principal ship of this expedition was the *Trade's Increase*, of 1,100 tons, specially built by the Company in imitation of the huge carraeks of Portugal. The great ship was unlucky, being burnt in the harbour of Bantam on her first voyage.

During all this time the Dutch had looked upon English commerece in the East with increasing jealousy. Until 1609 they could not afford to risk a quarrel with England, be-

cause their war of independence against Spain was still going on. But in that year a truce was concluded with Spain, Ambitions of and the whole energy of the Dutch nation the Dutch. was thenceforward concentrated on the founding of its eastern empire. The Dutch had these advantages in the islands : (1) by appearing there a few years in advance of England they had been able to make trade agreements with the native rulers, and to seize the principal strategic points which commanded the narrow passages of the archipelago ; (2) their ships and factors outnumbered those of England by four or five to one, for the Dutch East India Company was a national institution loyally supported by every man in the Netherlands, while that of England was a private concern, regarded with indifference by most people in the country, and with hostility by some.

After their peace with Spain in 1609, the Dutch began the contest by laying claim to the exclusive monopoly of the Moluccas, the choicest of the spice islands: The English driven from the islands. Fruitless negotiations followed, and the English factors were then expelled by force. In 1619, while pitched battles were in progress in Asiatic waters, a treaty was signed in Europe for the regulation of the trade. James I. deserted the English Company when it most needed his support, and by his orders the English negotiators agreed that the English should contribute to the cost of fortifying posts to be used by both nations, but that the fortifications should be under Dutch control. This simply meant that the English were to help to pay for the means of their own destruction. In the jointly occupied stations the insolence of the Dutch, always in superior numbers, became unbearable. They treated the English merchants as dogs, and refused to believe an Englishman's word against that of a native. Gradually the English withdrew from one after another of the island factories.

English trade in the islands ended with a terrible tragedy, whose effects were felt for nearly a century. At Amboyna in the Banda sea, eighteen English merchants and factors

lived among some hundreds of Dutchmen. In 1623 the Dutch governor decided that the time had come to exterminate them. By torturing natives he obtained evidence upon which he based the absurd charge that these eighteen men had plotted to seize the entire station. The Englishmen were arrested and subjected to ghastly tortures by fire and water to extort confession. After days of suffering ten were executed, and the Dutch flag waved in undisputed supremacy over Amboyna. When the news reached England a storm of indignation burst forth, and the cause of the East India Company became for the first time really popular with the English people. But James I. and Charles, who succeeded him in 1625, had political reasons for being friendly with the Dutch. With true Stuart "kingcraft" they swallowed the outrage upon the nation without protest, and it was not until the days of Cromwell that reparation was obtained for the Amboyna massacre.

After 1623 the Dutch had a practical monopoly of trade with the Archipelago and the remote East. Everywhere they gained the reputation of being hard and faithless, sacrificing every consideration of honour and religion to the pursuit of gain. In Japan, where Portuguese Jesuits had made many converts to Christianity, the authorities exterminated that religion by a campaign of persecution. To guard against its reintroduction, it was decided to exclude Europeans from the country unless they would perform the ceremony of trampling upon the image of Christ in order to prove that they were not Christians. The Dutch alone would consent to perform this rite, and so obtained a monopoly of Japanese trade. It was from these transactions in the East, much more than from anything which happened in Europe, that the intense hatred sprang up between England and Holland which produced three hard-fought wars in the space of twenty years.

During the years of the bitter struggle in the islands the English had been gradually establishing a hold upon the trade of India itself. Here their principal opponents

were the Portuguese, and the struggle went as decisively against the latter as it had gone against the English further The English to the East. In 1607 Captain William Hawkins in India.

Hawkins was despatched to the court of the Mogul Emperor, Jehangir, with letters from James I. Jehangir's sway extended over the whole of northern India, and Hawkins obtained from him permission for an English factory to be established at Surat in the Gulf of Cambay.

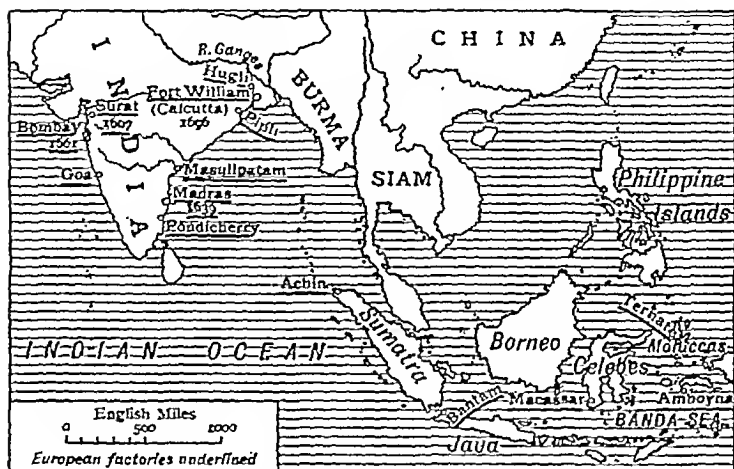


FIG. 5.—THE EARLY OPERATIONS OF THE EAST INDIA CO.

The grant was temporarily revoked owing to Portuguese machinations, but the factory was nevertheless successfully founded. Before it could be regarded as permanent, a decisive victory over the Portuguese was necessary in order to prove to the Mogul's officials that the English were the stronger power. This victory was obtained in 1612.

In the previous year Sir Henry Middleton had found the entrance to Surat barred by a Portuguese naval force. In 1612 Captain Thomas Best arrived in the Battle of Swally Roads, at the mouth of the Surat river, with two ships, the *Red Dragon* and the *Hosiander*. He was opposed by four Portuguese ships and

twenty-six row-barges filled with soldiers from their headquarters at Goa further down the coast. In spite of the odds, he decided to engage them. The fighting was spread over a period of a month. On the first and second days a heavy cannonade was kept up, the English gunnery, as in the time of Drake, proving superior to that of the enemy. On the third day both sides were busy repairing damages, and on the fourth Best stood out to sea, hoping the Portuguese would follow him and fight it out where their oared vessels would be useless. The enemy, however, remained in the port, doubtless considering that they had won their point. Three weeks later Best returned to the attack, and in a two days' battle gained a decisive victory. The Portuguese retired to Goa, and the two English ships entered Surat in triumph. The natives had watched the struggle with keen interest, and hastened to reward the victor by confirming the grant of Surat and three other factories on the same coast.

It was at this time that the Company abandoned the system of raising a separate capital for each voyage, and formed instead a permanent joint stock as in a modern trading company. In 1613 the joint stock amounted to nearly half a million pounds, and Captain Nicholas Downton was despatched to India with four ships. In 1615 Downton won a victory at Swally against even heavier odds than Best had faced in 1612. In three weeks of hard fighting and manœuvring his four ships drove away eleven Portuguese sailing vessels and sixty 18-oared barges. The rival crews numbered 400 Englishmen and 2,600 Portuguese, aided by 6,000 native auxiliaries. Downton died later in the same year, but his valour had broken the back of the Portuguese empire in the East. From that time forward their decline was rapid; their carracks were captured at sea, and the English followed them even into the Persian Gulf, where the Portuguese garrison of Ormuz capitulated in 1622.

Overthrow of  
Portuguese  
power in  
India.

In 1615, also, Sir Thomas Roe was sent as ambassador to the court of the Mogul Emperor. He negotiated a treaty by



which English privileges were maintained, and the Indian trade prospered greatly. The English at Surat were an extremely orderly community, and gained the respect of the Mogul's officers. The factory at Surat. Until 1687 Surat dominated the Company's settlements, when its place was taken by Bombay. In spite of their good reputation, the merchants at Surat experienced reverses. Famine, followed by pestilence, devastated the surrounding country, and on another occasion all Englishmen were placed under arrest owing to the piracies of "interlopers," who were permitted by the weakness of the English Government to imperil the Company.

Ere long, trading posts were obtained on other parts of the Indian coast. A factory at Masulipatam was established in 1611. This was afterwards superseded by Madras (1639). A footing in Bengal was gained at Pipli in 1633, and at Hugli on the Ganges in 1650. Charles II, by his marriage with Catherine of Braganza, obtained the cession of the island of Bombay from the Portuguese. After an unsuccessful attempt to administer it himself, he turned it over to the Company in 1668. Bombay was a difficult post to maintain. Its climate was so deadly that the average life of an Englishman there was said not to exceed three years, and it was on the border-line between the power of the Mogul Emperor and that of the Mahratta chiefs of the Deccan. In spite of these disadvantages, it ultimately displaced Surat as the Company's headquarters. The last important acquisition of the seventeenth century, was that of Fort William (Calcutta) in 1696.

During this period the Company was a trading body pure and simple. It had no desire to occupy territory beyond the walls of its factories, nor to interfere with the government of the native princes. The stronger the latter proved themselves, the better the English were pleased; for their business depended on the maintenance of peace. Two factors made their appearance towards the end of the century which were destined to revolutionise this state of

affairs. The Mogul Empire showed signs of breaking up before the advance of the warlike Mahrattas; and a new competitor reached India in the shape of a French East India Company, founded by Louis XIV. in 1662. The completion of the first of these changes may be said to have been accomplished in 1707, the date of the death of the last great emperor, Aurungzêbe. The French made rapid progress, fortifying Pondicherry, 100 miles south of Madras, in 1675. In the eighteenth century their policy of interfering in the disturbed native politics produced a series of wars, which entirely altered the position of Europeans in India.

A few words are necessary about the fortunes of the East India Company at home. Throughout the whole period under discussion it experienced difficulty in maintaining its monopoly rights and preventing unauthorised persons from engaging in the trade. In addition to the "free trade" cry

The  
Company's  
enemies at  
home.

raised against it, another objection was put forward. This was that it paid for its eastern wares, not by exporting English goods, but mainly in specie. Thus, according to the economic ideas of the time, it drained the realm of wealth. The exponents of this theory declared that England would be better off if the Indian trade were altogether abandoned. In refutation of this argument, the Company could point to the extraordinary rise of the Dutch nation in wealth and power, based very largely on this same trade. With regard to the monopoly, it was evident that the Indian trade depended on the maintenance by the Company of ambassadors, buildings and fortifications, and it was manifestly unfair that private traders should share these advantages without contributing to their cost. But the most powerful argument for monopoly was furnished by the invariable bad conduct of the interlopers in eastern waters, whereby the whole position of Englishmen in the East was imperilled.

Cromwell reorganised the Company in 1657 after it had passed through a period of confusion under the Commonwealth. Charles II. confirmed its charter in 1661. The

expulsion of James II. in 1688 gave the interlopers a fresh opportunity. The old Company received little support from William III., and its rivals went so far as to found a new Company under Government patronage. The rival corporations traded side by side until 1708, when they were amalgamated as the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

### (ii) *West African Companies*

Very different from the orderly progress of the East India Company is the record of African trade during the seventeenth century. In spite of numerous attempts to concentrate this branch of commerce in the hands of one large company with monopoly rights, the interlopers and private adventurers of all kinds continually flourished at the expense of the officially recognised body.

Early attempts to exploit the Guinea trade in the days of Mary and Elizabeth have already been described. During the Spanish War these efforts were relaxed, although some merchants of Exeter made profitable voyages about the year 1588. After the restoration of peace, companies were licensed by both James I. and Charles I., but achieved no permanent success. The incorporated merchants had now to face, not only the competition of their own interloping fellow-countrymen, but also that of the Dutch. The latter inaugurated a West India Company, and busied themselves in supplying our American and West Indian planters with negro slaves.

Dutch commerce with English colonies having been to some extent suppressed by the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660, a fresh attempt to regulate the African trade was made after the Restoration of Charles II. Under the patronage of the Duke of York and Prince Rupert a new body was formed, called the Royal African Company. Its patent conferred very wide privileges—exclusive trade on the whole west coast of Africa from Morocco to the Cape, with power to erect forts and factories wherever necessary. But the great extent of

the territory rendered it impossible to keep out intruders, and the Company could hardly compete successfully against free-lances who were at no expense for fortifications. The Company, with numerous reconstructions and changes of system, dragged out a miserable existence for a century and a half, not being finally dissolved until the reign of George IV. At scarcely any moment during this long period could it be said to be a paying concern. Its most memorable achievement was the establishment of permanent posts on the Gold Coast and at the mouth of the Gambia river, which have remained in English possession to the present day.

At first sight it might seem that if the East India Company could prosper in spite of foreign and domestic foes, the African Company ought to have done the same. But in reality the conditions were entirely different. In the first place, the Guinea coast was much more accessible from England than was that of India. Interlopers were, therefore, more numerous, and could work with a smaller capital. But the really fatal bar to a "well-ordered trade" was the fact that the two branches of African enterprise, slave hunting and trafficking for the produce of the country, were incompatible with one another. The merchant who desired to exchange English goods for gold, ivory and dyestuffs had to maintain a fortified factory for the storage of his wares, and had also to be on friendly terms with the natives. The slaver, on the other hand, ranged along a wide stretch of coast, frequently fought with the negroes, but more generally obtained a cargo by inciting the slave chiefs to make war upon one another, afterwards selling him the prisoners. All this was obviously detrimental to peaceful trade. The African Company attempted to carry on both branches of the business, but in slaving was easily outdone by the interlopers, while its permanent stations were always liable to be attacked by the Dutch, Portuguese and, latterly, the French.

The slave trade, offensive as it is to modern consciences, was essential to the foundation of English colonies in the

West Indies and the warmer parts of North America. It was for this reason that the African Company persevered in face of such misfortunes. But the western planters themselves preferred an open trade. They complained that, while a private venturer could sell them negroes at £7 a head, the Company charged as much as £20, and restricted the supply to the detriment of colonial expansion.

The slave trade continued in full vigour until the opening years of the nineteenth century, and the failure of the official Company in reality testifies to the wide extent of the illicit side of the business.

### (iii) *The North-West Passage*

Reference has already been made to voyages by Sebastian Cabot, Sir Martin Frobisher, John Davis and other sixteenth century explorers in search of the North-West Passage. After Davis's third voyage in 1587, the project was abandoned for some fifteen years. But in the first three decades of the seventeenth century a remarkable series of voyages was performed in this direction, and knowledge of the Arctic regions made rapid strides.

As in the earlier period, the promoters of these expeditions had always in view the practical object of finding a shorter route to the East than the Cape of Good Hope afforded. Consequently, it is found that the merchants of England, and particularly those of the East India and Russia Companies, were usually appealed to by the explorers for financial support; and, as long as the least hope of success remained, the appeal was seldom made in vain. The London and Bristol merchant princes were men of large views, who did not shrink from expending a share of their gains in an enterprise which gave promise of such grand results.

The first of the new series of voyages was made by George Waymouth with two small vessels, the *Godspeed* and the *Waymouth*, 1602. The whole equipment was provided by the East India Company, who agreed to pay the captain £500 in the event of success and nothing

in the case of failure. Waymouth sailed from the Thames on May 2nd, 1602. By the end of June he was pushing up



Emery Walker Ltd. & Co.

FIG. 6.—EARLY VOYAGES TO THE NORTH-WEST.

the west coast of Greenland, suffering hardships from storms and ice. At length the crew, instigated by Parson

Cartwright, their chaplain, broke into mutiny and refused to proceed further. Waymouth crossed over to the shore on which Frobisher had found his supposed gold mine, and then sailed southwards along the Labrador coast, failing everywhere to find the looked-for opening to the west. He arrived in England early in August after an absence of only four months. Compared with achievements which were soon to follow, Waymouth's voyage does not seem very heroic. The Company, however, exonerated him from blame for the failure, and talked of employing him again, although it does not appear that they ever did so.

In 1606 John Knight, also in the service of the East India Company, sailed to the coast of Labrador in a little vessel of 40 tons named the *Hopewell*. He encountered more than the usual share of ice, fog and storms. His end was tragic. On June 26th, he, with his mate and three other men, landed to explore an island. They marched over the brow of a hill and were never seen again. Only eight men were left in the ship, which was held fast in the ice. These were presently attacked by a swarm of Eskimos who had probably already slain the landing party. By heroic efforts the survivors beat off the attack, freed their ship, and made their way to Newfoundland. They reached England after obtaining succour from the fishermen of the Newfoundland Banks.

The next name in the series is that of Henry Hudson, the greatest of all the early explorers of the Arctic. His claim to this title rests on the fact that he made, in his four successive voyages, a systematic search for a passage to Asia in all the quarters in which search was possible—to the North, to the North-East, and to the North-West. With no financial resources of his own he was able, by the force of his personality, to induce three different sets of employers to provide means for this work.

The details of his early life are unknown. He first comes into view in 1607 as a captain in the service of the

Henry  
Hudson:  
his compre-  
hensive  
scheme.

Russia Company. Sailing on April 23rd of that year, he proceeded up the North Sea to the Shetland Islands, and thence made his way to the eastern shore of Greenland. His purpose on this voyage was to look for the Passage by sailing due north and attempting to pass over the Pole itself. In this he was stopped by the permanent ice barrier which stretches between Greenland and Spitzbergen. Skirting the ice field he arrived at Spitzbergen, discovered by the Dutch some years before. Here, also, there was no opening. After trying the ice barrier once more Hudson returned with this important negative information: that it was useless to look for the Passage anywhere between Greenland and Spitzbergen.

His first  
voyage to the  
North, 1607.

Hudson's second voyage was likewise financed by the Russia Company. On this occasion he made the North-East the region of his search. Leaving London in the spring of 1608, he first sailed the seas between Spitzbergen and Novaia Zemlia, failing to force a way through the ice to the north-east of the latter island. He then coasted southwards along the western shore of Novaia Zemlia, satisfied himself that no practicable channel existed there, and finally turned homewards before the close of the summer. Failing success by means of the strait between Novaia Zemlia and the mainland of Siberia, he was now fairly convinced that the North-West was the only quarter in which the Passage would be found. He had not examined the strait in question owing to the lateness of the season and lack of supplies.

Second  
voyage to the  
North-East,  
1608.

The Russia Company had now exhausted its enthusiasm for discovery, and Hudson crossed over to Holland, where he found that the Dutch Merchants were also alive to the importance of his projects. In 1609 he set sail in their service to complete his unfinished exploration of the North-East. In the *Half Moon*, a little ship with a crew of some twenty men, he again reached Novaia

Third voyage  
to the North-  
East and to  
the West,  
1609.



Zemlia, only to find the sea everywhere blocked by ice. As in so many other voyages, the captain had a stouter heart than his men, who mutinied and forced him to turn back. Although foiled in the North-East, Hudson had already formed plans for exploring the North-West, and with his men's consent sailed over to the coast of Nova Scotia. It was not by any means certain at this time that North America was an unbroken continent, and the *Half Moon* was accordingly headed southwards from Nova Scotia in the hope that a channel might be found leading through from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This, be it remembered, was before the days of the Pilgrim Fathers and the colonisation of New England. Ranging along the American coast, Hudson discovered the noble river which still bears his name. After spending a month in exploring its course he began his return voyage, putting into Dartmouth in November 1609. At Dartmouth Hudson and the English members of the crew were detained by order of the Government, the *Half Moon* and the Dutchmen being allowed to proceed to the Netherlands. Their favourable reports of the Hudson River district resulted in the foundation there of the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, afterwards New York.

It was Hudson's fame as a navigator which had caused his detention at Dartmouth. It was felt that a man of

Fourth his talents should be exercising them on behalf  
 voyage to the of his own country and not in the service of its  
 North-West, rival. Accordingly it was not long before he  
 1610-11.

was again at sea in the *Discovery*, a ship fitted out at the expense of Sir Thomas Smith and two other venturers. Smith was Governor of the East India Company, but that body was not officially a patron of the expedition. Henry Hudson began his last voyage on April 17th, 1610. His purpose was to complete the semi-circle of his examination of the Arctic by entering the strait between Labrador and Frobisher's *Meta Incognita*. This strait, now named Hudson Strait, had been visited by Frobisher and other voyagers. But Hudson was the

first to push through it and into the great bay beyond. This proved to be the task of more than one season, and the explorers passed the winter of 1610-11 frozen fast in the ice of Hudson's Bay.

The long winter passed in discomfort and idleness bred discontent among the crew. Scarcely had the voyage been resumed in June 1611, when they broke into open mutiny. The ringleader was a certain

Henry Greene, who owed everything to Hudson's kindness. At Greene's instigation Henry Hudson, his son John, and six sick men were placed in an open boat and sent adrift. Their fate was voluntarily shared by John King, the ship's carpenter, who preferred death to infamy. The doomed men drifted away and were never seen again. The mutineers then turned homewards. On the way Greene and two others were slain in a fight with Eskimos. Provisions ran short, and ere the Irish coast was reached Juet the mate, another leader of the mutiny, had died of hunger, and few of his comrades had strength to stand. Their shameful story was soon elicited by strict questioning, but none of the survivors were severely punished.

The discovery of Hudson's Bay gave a fresh impetus to north-western voyages. Most people were beginning to realise that there was no passage through Button, the eastern coast of North America itself, but

it had yet to be seen whether Hudson's Bay communicated with the Pacific. Hudson himself had explored only the eastern side of the Bay. In 1612, therefore, Sir Thomas Button sailed with two ships to complete the discovery. He crossed over to the western shore of the Bay and wintered in the estuary of the Nelson River. Many of his men perished from the cold, but Button's good leadership prevented a mutiny. In June 1613, he got free of the ice and sailed northwards looking for an opening. After two months' search, in which he reached the latitude of 65° N. he returned to England.

In 1612 also, James Hall sailed to seek gold on the west coast of Greenland. Hall was killed by an Eskimo, and

his men then gave up the attempt. Another minor expedition was that of Captain Gibbons in 1614. He proceeded no further than the Labrador coast, where ice forced him to turn back.

In 1615 the same company which had sent out Button and Gibbons despatched William Baffin to continue the search for the Passage in the waters west of Hudson Strait. Baffin was a scientific seaman of the same stamp as John Davis and Hudson, and he had already seen much service in the Arctic. His experiences in the voyage of 1615 convinced him that the Passage would not be found by way of Hudson Strait, and in his next attempt he took a different direction.

It will be remembered that John Davis, in the time of Elizabeth, had entered the strait which now bears his name. This great waterway, separating Greenland from Labrador and Baffin Land (*Meta Incognita*), appeared to offer a passage to the North-West, but was so frequently blocked by floating ice that Davis had not been able to explore its entire length. Baffin now decided to follow and continue on the course laid down by Davis. He had with him Robert Bylot, who had been one of Hudson's mutinous crew and had served in other expeditions after Hudson's death. His ship, the *Discovery*, was also noteworthy as being the vessel in which Hudson, Button and Gibbons had made their voyages. Sailing in 1616, Baffin and Bylot made their way up the west coast of Greenland. In a remarkably short time they passed Davis's northernmost limit and discovered Baffin's Bay, second only in size to that of Hudson. At the beginning of July they reached nearly 78° of north latitude, an achievement which exceeded any other in this direction until the opening of the nineteenth century. Two channels lead westward from Baffin's Bay, but they were so choked with ice that the intrepid explorers were obliged to turn back after making one of the most remarkable voyages of their time. Baffin was never again in the Arctic. He subsequently took service with the East India

Company, and was killed in 1622 at the taking of the Portuguese settlements in the Persian Gulf.

If we except an unimportant voyage made by Captain Hawkrige in 1619, no other attempts upon the problem of the North-West took place until 1631. In Foxe and that year some London merchants, aided by James, 1631. Sir John Wolstenholme and the Brethren of Trinity House, sent out Captain Luke Foxe (or, as he called himself, North-West Foxe), to try once more for a passage by way of Hudson's Bay. Foxe has left a most entertaining account of his voyage. He passed through Hudson Strait, searched the western shore of Hudson's Bay between  $55^{\circ}$  and  $65^{\circ}$ , and then sailed northwards up Foxe's Channel to  $66^{\circ} 47'$ , "Foxe his farthest." While in the Bay he encountered another English ship commanded by Captain Thomas James of Bristol, bent on the same errand. James wintered in the Bay, but accomplished no discoveries of note.

Foxe's report was to the effect that no passage was to be looked for in Hudson's Bay, and with his voyage the quest ceased for nearly a century. Although all failed in their main object, these early explorers were as truly empire builders as the East India merchants and the colonists of America. Many lost their lives in the enterprise; all suffered extreme hardships for little reward. Their efforts could not but increase the honour and prestige of England among the nations, and in their own sphere they kept burning the torch of English heroism, lighted by the great seamen of Tudor days.

#### (iv) *The Hudson's Bay Company*

Many years elapsed before commercial advantage was taken of the discoveries of Hudson and his contemporaries. English colonisation at the time was entirely The French concerned with the Atlantic seaboard of fur-traders. America. The French, however, were in a better position to appreciate the importance of the great northern sea. Since the opening of the seventeenth century the French colony of Canada had been steadily growing on the banks of the

St. Lawrence. Its principal industry was fur-trading with the Indians, and the value of its exports to Europe soon became considerable. The French had taken no part in the expeditions to the North-West, and never attempted to reach the shores of Hudson's Bay by sea; but in 1660 two French pioneers obtained news from the Indians of a convenient route by land from Canada to the rich fur regions round the Bay. Failing to interest their own countrymen in opening up this country, they turned for help first to Massachusetts and afterwards to England.

England, during the first ten years of the reign of Charles II., experienced an unprecedented outburst of commercial energy, as is evidenced by the increased activity of the East India Company and the foundation of the Royal African Company.

The nobles and merchants of the time were eager to enrich themselves by the opening up of new trades, and the promoters of the Hudson's Bay scheme were able to obtain the patronage of Prince Rupert, the King's cousin. In 1668 the first commercial voyage into the Bay was undertaken at the expense of Rupert and his associates. Under Captain Gillam and Groseilliers, one of the Frenchmen above referred to, the expedition penetrated to the southern extremity of James Bay, the continuation of Hudson's Bay. The crew landed and constructed a log fort which they named Fort Charles. Communications were opened up with a neighbouring tribe of Indians, and at this place the whole party passed the winter. In the spring the Indians brought a quantity of furs sufficient to provide a valuable cargo, and Gillam sailed for England, leaving Groseilliers to hold the fort.

This preliminary voyage proving highly satisfactory to the adventurers, the latter petitioned the King for a monopoly grant of the trade. The charter was finally signed on May 2nd, 1670, and constituted Prince Rupert and seventeen others "The Governor and Company of Merchants Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay." The Company was given exclu-

sive rights of trade on the shores of the Bay, and was also empowered to erect forts and eject intruders. One of its professed objects was the discovery of a passage leading to the Pacific Ocean, but in actual fact it did very little in that direction. Prince Rupert continued in the office of Governor until his death in 1682.

The Company made rapid progress, extending its sphere of operations and making friends with the Indians. It gained such large profits, and diverted so much of the fur trade from the French of Canada, that the latter speedily became hostile. In spite of the good relations between England and France in the reigns of Charles II. and James II., fighting took place in North America, but without important result. After the expulsion of James II. in 1688, the position of the Hudson's Bay settlements was more seriously imperilled by the fiercely contested wars which ensued in Europe. Ultimately the Company won through all dangers, and continued to carry on a remunerative, although not very enterprising trade. It never founded colonies in the true sense, its territories being unsuitable, but confined itself to establishing trading posts and supplying the Indians with manufactured goods in exchange for furs. The land bordering on the Bay was named Rupert's Land in honour of the first Governor.

The Hudson's Bay Company is the only one of the great commercial corporations of Tudor and Stuart foundation which survives to the present day. Its exclusive rights of jurisdiction and government in Rupert's Land were surrendered to the Dominion of Canada in 1869, but it still carries on a great business as a trading company, and, in the words of Lord Strathcona, "is as inseparably bound up with the future of Western Canada as it has been with its past."

### SUMMARY

1. The English were anticipated in the eastern trade by the Portuguese and the Dutch.

2. The East India Company traded at first with the islands of the East Indian Archipelago; it was driven from them by the Dutch, and then turned its attention to India itself.

3. During their first century in India the English made no attempt to conquer native territories, but confined themselves to peaceful trading.

4. The West African trade was twofold, consisting of slave hunting and bargaining for gold and ivory. Attempts to concentrate this trade in the hands of an exclusive company were unsuccessful.

5. During the first thirty years of the seventeenth century persistent attempts were made to find a North-West Passage for commercial purposes.

6. The greatest explorers of this period were Henry Hudson and William Baffin; the most important discovery was that of Hudson's Bay.

7. The foundation of the Hudson's Bay Company turned the discovery to commercial account, and was also important as producing the earliest collision between English and French colonial interests.

### IMPORTANT DATES

- 1601. First voyage of the East India Company.
- 1609. Establishment of English factory at Surat.
- 1610-11. Discovery of Hudson's Bay and death of Hudson.
- 1612. Captain Best's victory at Swally Roads.
- 1616. Discovery of Baffin's Bay.
- 1619-23. Expulsion of the English from the Eastern Archipelago.
- 1623. The Amboyna Massacre.
- 1631. Voyages of Foxe and James; cessation of search for North-West Passage.
- 1633. English factory at Pipli (Bengal).
- 1639. English factory at Madras.
- 1661. Cession of Bombay to Charles II. by Portugal (handed over to East India Company in 1668).
- 1662. Foundation of the Royal African Company.
- 1670. Foundation of the Hudson's Bay Company.
- 1696. English factory at Fort William (Calcutta).
- 1707. Death of Aurungzebe, the last great Mogul emperor
- 1708. Formation of the United East India Company.

## CHAPTER III

### THE NAVIGATION ACTS AND THE DUTCH WARS

THE Tudor sovereigns, as we have seen, had realised that the oversea interests of the country could only be defended and expanded by the possession of an adequate sea-power. They had also realised that sea-power was of two kinds, naval and mercantile, and that both were necessary, since each depended upon the other for support. Hence both Henry VII. and Henry VIII. had enforced navigation acts for the encouragement of English merchant shipping, and the same kings had laid the foundation of a regular navy by building large and well-armed warships. Under Elizabeth the navigation policy had been to some extent relaxed because Burghley, her great minister, did not believe in its efficacy, and also because the Queen's position was so weak at the opening of her reign that the Government dared not give offence to foreign nations. But in spite of Burghley's caution, the maritime spirit of England, deeply implanted by the two Henrys, had proved irrepressible. Privateering, which he hated, had flourished to an unprecedented extent; and legitimate trade, which he approved, derived fresh support from the respect for the English flag which Drake imposed upon its rivals. To cap all, the regular navy had been raised by the successes of the Spanish War to an undreamed-of pitch of efficiency.

With the opening of the Stuart period a change for the worse set in. James I. allowed the navy to decline in strength; privateering, at best only a temporary benefit,



had served its turn, and was at an end ; and commerce, although healthy and expanding, saw itself threatened by the rise of Dutch sea-power, which increased Dutch supremacy at a much more rapid rate than that of at sea. England. The threatened Dutch supremacy at sea was seen by thinking men to be a danger which England must face sooner or later, unless she were content to relapse into decay as Spain and Portugal had done. Everywhere the Dutch seamen pushed their way with incredible vigour. They planted colonies at the mouth of the Hudson River, separating New England from Virginia. They drove the East India Company from the spice islands and from the coasts of China and Japan. Their ships carried nine-tenths of the trade between England and her own colonies of Barbados and Virginia. They wrested the forts on the African coast from the feeble hands of the Portuguese, and began to monopolise the supply of slaves to the English plantations. And they competed successfully with England in the trade with Russia, in the herring fishery of the North Sea, and in the whale fishery of Spitzbergen.

The struggles of James and Charles with their parliaments, and the anarchy of the Civil War still further depressed the commerce of England. After the execution of Charles I. in 1649 a part of the navy sided with his son, and Prince Rupert successfully preyed upon English commerce at the mouth of the Channel itself. But as soon as a breathing space was obtained, the statesmen of the Commonwealth turned their attention to the question. If sea-power had been necessary in Tudor times, when only commerce required defence, it was still more so now that colonies as well were added to the list of England's responsibilities.

At first a peaceful settlement was attempted. In spite of trade rivalry there were many bonds of sympathy between the two nations ; both were Protestant, both were now republics, and the Dutch owed their very freedom in large measure to the help given by Elizabeth against Spain.

Throughout their eighty years' war of independence, numbers of English and Scottish volunteers had fought in the armies of the United Provinces. Envoys were accordingly despatched to negotiate between the two countries a close alliance, which must ultimately have involved some arrangement of maritime disputes. But the negotiations fell through, and the English representatives came home in disgust.

England's next move was practically a declaration of war. In October, 1651, Parliament passed a Navigation Act intended to transfer at one stroke the carrying trade from Dutch to English bottoms. The Navigation Act of 1651. It was laid down that no goods were to be imported from Asia, Africa or America, save in English ships with crews at least one-half English, and that no goods were to be imported from any European country save in a ship of that country or in an English ship. Since the Netherlands themselves produced few goods in demand in England, this amounted in effect to a prohibition of Dutch intercourse with any part of the British Empire. At the same time England revived the ancient claim to the sovereignty of the seas around her coasts, demanding that the Dutch should pay rent for the right of fishing in the North Sea, and should salute English ships when met with in home waters. The framers of this policy must have known that the result would be war, but they judged that the time had come to settle the question of the supremacy of the seas.

Fighting began in the summer of 1652. It was notable for the large numbers of ships employed by each side, many being merchantmen hastily adapted for war as in the days of the Armada. The first Dutch war, 1652-4. On the English side it is also to be noticed that the leaders were without exception men who had begun their active careers as soldiers in the Civil War, and who were transferred in middle age to the sea service. The first encounter took place before the declaration of war. On May 18th Blake, at the head of an English fleet, met the Dutch, under

Tromp, in the Channel. He demanded the salute and, failing to obtain it, fought an indecisive action.

Blake then sailed northwards to intercept a fleet of Dutch merchantmen reported to be returning from the East Indies by way of the north of Scotland. On his way he did great damage to the Dutch herring fleet in the North Sea. Tromp followed, but a storm prevented a battle, and he was dismissed from his command by his Government, who thought his conduct had been faint-hearted. In the meantime another Dutch admiral, De Ruyter, had defeated Sir George Ayscue off Plymouth. The first great battle of the war followed on September 8th, when Blake and Ayscue joined forces and defeated De Ruyter and De Witt near the mouth of the Thames. At the end of November Tromp was replaced in command, and sent to convoy a fleet of merchantmen to Bordeaux. Blake attacked him off Dungeness, but was defeated owing to the misconduct of several of his captains, who refused to join closely in the battle. The English retired to their ports to repair damages.

In 1653 Blake was early at sea, with two other soldiers, Monk and Deane, associated with him in the command. Tromp was returning up the Channel with his Bordeaux convoy when the English attacked him. A running fight for three days ensued, and Tromp got the convoy through with fair success to his own coast, although he lost many of his fighting ships. On June 2nd a still greater battle took place off Harwich, in which Monk and Deane faced Tromp. There were over a hundred ships on either side and the fighting was most furious. Deane was killed early in the action, but the Dutch were worsted, with the loss of twenty ships. The Dutch coast was now blockaded and their commerce paralysed. On July 31st Tromp and De Witt came out to fight the last and greatest battle of the war. Again victory fell to the English. Tromp, their most formidable adversary, was killed, and the Dutch lost twenty-six ships to the English two. This was really decisive, although eight months elapsed before peace was signed.

The war had revealed the serious disadvantages under which the Dutch must labour in fighting England. The whole life of the Dutch nation was dependent on the prosperity of its commerce and fisheries, for the population was much too great to exist on the products of the land itself. England, on the other hand, was as yet mainly an agricultural country, able to live on its own resources. If war destroyed its commerce its merchants were ruined, but the mass of the people were not immediately reduced to starvation, as was the case in the Netherlands. Again, with the rival fleets of nearly equal fighting power, as the war proved them to be, Dutch commerce was bound to suffer more severely than English by reason of the geographical position of the two countries. Dutch merchantmen, to reach the ocean, had to traverse either the Channel or the North Sea, in either case passing by a long stretch of English coast-line. English ships, on the other hand, could leave the southern and western ports without going near the enemy's coast. Consequently the main anxiety of Tromp had been to protect convoys first, and defeat the English navy afterwards, while Blake and his comrades were free to attack whenever they liked. The decisive battle of July 31st, 1653, brought the Dutch to the verge of ruin. Their commerce was at an end, the starving people could find no employment, and all parties craved for peace. The treaty of April 5th, 1654, gave the decision on most of the disputed points to England. The flag was to be saluted, the Navigation Act maintained, and compensation paid for the Amboyna massacre. In the North Sea the fishery was to be free without payment to England.

While the war had been at its height, Oliver Cromwell had made himself head of the English state. On April 23rd, 1653, he expelled the corrupt remnant of the Long Parliament, and the Commonwealth gave place to the Protectorate, the strongest monarchy which England had seen since the

Factors

unfavourable

to the Dutch.

End of the

war, 1654.

Cromwell's

imperial

policy.

death of Elizabeth. Cromwell took energetic measures to increase English sea-power, and to rescue commerce from the confusion into which the wars had thrown it. He sent Blake to teach a lesson to the Mohammedan pirates of the Mediterranean. He demanded of the King of Spain freedom of worship for Englishmen in Spain, and free navigation in the West Indies. On these demands being refused, he despatched the expedition which seized Jamaica. Blake destroyed a treasure fleet at Teneriffe, and an English army helped to capture the port of Dunkirk in the Spanish Netherlands. Cromwell's firm rule lasted only five years. His death in 1658 was followed by nearly two years of growing anarchy, and the fruits of his policy were only reaped when Charles II. was restored in 1660.

Although the character and court of Charles II. were utterly different from those of the Protector, the first ten years of the new reign witnessed a continuance of the policy of maritime expansion of which Charles II. inherits Cromwell's methods. the Act of 1651 was the opening move. During these years it was fully realised that, to use a well-worn phrase, the future of England lay upon the water. The statesmen of the time were deeply impressed with the rapid rise of the Dutch Republic, they saw also that England was free from certain fatal weaknesses to which the Dutch were exposed, and they determined to imitate the methods of their rivals. Stated briefly, the theory was this : to survive as a first-class state, the nation must be above all things rich ; national wealth was to be attained by fostering commerce with all parts of the world ; a great commerce entailed the acquisition of colonies and trading posts, the building up of a mighty fleet of English-owned merchant ships, and its protection by a sufficient force of well-armed war-ships. To these objects, then, the whole of the national energies must be devoted, and all interests interfering with them must be sacrificed. Such was the famous Mercantile System, which remained the prime policy of

English rulers until the revolt of the American colonies in 1775. It was not the invention of the seventeenth century, having been foreshadowed by the Tudors, and even earlier still. But its rigid and unswerving application may be said to date from the passing of the Navigation Act of 1651.

Colbert, the finance minister of Louis XIV., was pursuing similar plans in France, and after the decline of the Dutch, France became England's most dangerous competitor for empire. But France allowed herself to be dazzled by schemes of land conquest on the continent of Europe, and her strength in the long run proved unequal to the seizure of ascendancy by land and sea at once. Thus the wars of the next century ended in the transference of the French colonial empire to England.

Meanwhile the Dutch had still to be reckoned with, since, although defeated, they had not been crushed in the war of 1652, and had made an astonishingly rapid recovery. A series of aggressive moves on the part of England soon provoked another struggle. In 1660 a second Navigation Act was passed to supplement that of the Commonwealth. It stated that certain "enumerated" colonial goods, the list including both sugar and tobacco, were only to be exported from the colonies direct to an English port; and also that all goods entering the colonies must be sent out from England alone. Thus, if a foreign firm desired a cargo of Virginian tobacco they could obtain it only through agents in England or by purchasing from an English middleman. In either case the goods would pay duty in an English custom house. The object of this Act was to encourage still further English shipping, and to give the English merchants a preponderating share in the commerce of the colonies. It ultimately produced great harm by alienating the feelings of the colonists, whose prosperity was injured by the limitation of their markets. But its immediate effect was to increase England's sea-power at the expense of that of her rivals.

Other causes of offence to the Dutch were the establishment of the Royal African Company, and the acquisition of Bombay by the marriage treaty of Charles II. But the outburst of English energy did not stop short at these legitimate measures. Charles II. granted to his brother James, Duke of York, permission to capture and govern the Dutch settlements lying midway between New England and Maryland. The Duke despatched a fleet in 1664, which took New Amsterdam without difficulty, and converted it into the English colony of New York. This was not an act of causeless aggression, but was part of the general commercial policy of the time. The existence of a Dutch settlement so close to those of England had made it almost impossible to enforce the last Navigation Act; hence its reduction was decided upon. Fighting had already taken place on the African coast.

War was formally declared early in 1665, and, as before, was carried on wholly at sea. As in the previous war also, the honours of the actual fighting were fairly evenly divided, but the losses told far more heavily upon the Dutch than upon the English. In the first great battle, that near Lowestoft on June 13th, 1665, the Duke of York inflicted a defeat upon the Dutch Admiral Opdam, who lost several ships. A year later occurred the terrible four days' battle in the Straits of Dover, in which Monk, with an inferior force, was defeated by De Ruyter. The Dutch lost 2,000 men and the English 8,000 besides seventeen ships. But, as has been explained, the English were better able to bear losses than their opponents. In two months they were at sea again, defeated their enemy off the North Foreland, and destroyed a number of Dutch merchantmen. Both sides were now inclined for peace, the Dutch for fear of losing their commerce, and the English because they had been weakened by the Fire of London and the Great Plague, both of which raged while the war was going on. While negotiations were proceeding, Charles II. paid off the crews of many of his

ships in order to save expense. For this mistake he paid dearly. De Ruyter once more gathered a fleet, entered the Thames and Medway in June 1667, and committed great damage. Peace was signed six weeks later at Breda, and England was confirmed in the possession of New York and New Jersey.

The third and last of this series of Dutch wars was due almost entirely to continental causes, and had little relation to the maritime expansion of England. It was brought on by the ambition of Louis XIV., who considered the Dutch republic to be an obstacle to his schemes of conquest in the Spanish Netherlands and elsewhere. On land France was strong, but her navy was not yet able to stand alone against that of the Dutch. Louis, therefore, induced Charles II. to unite with him in a crushing blow against the rival state. Charles had personal reasons for alliance with France, but public opinion in England was strongly opposed to it. Thinking men realised that Holland had already been so weakened that England had nothing more to fear from that direction. They also saw that France had made such rapid strides under Colbert's administration that she had become a dangerous rival. But, in defiance of the wishes of his subjects, Charles began the war in 1672, while at the same moment the French armies poured into the Republic by land.

The sea battles of the third Dutch War were similar in character to those which had occurred before. In 1672 De Ruyter attacked the combined English and French fleets in Southwold Bay. After a tremendous battle he gained the advantage, although it was not a decisive one, and then successfully convoyed a fleet of merchantmen to his own ports. In the following year the Dutch, hard pressed on land, had little money to spend on their fleets, and rested mainly on the defensive. Three drawn battles were fought off their coast, the last being that of the Texel on August 21st. While these naval encounters were proceeding, the French troops had almost succeeded in con-



quering the country. Amsterdam was only saved by the cutting of the dykes. John de Witt, the Republican President of the United Provinces, was murdered by a mob who blamed him for neglecting the national defence. In his place William of Orange, afterwards William III. of England, was appointed Stadtholder, and by his bravery succeeded in stemming the tide of French advance.

In the meantime public opinion in England clamoured ever more loudly against the war. Charles II. was at length obliged to yield to it, and peace was signed at Westminster early in 1674. The Dutch once more agreed to salute the English flag, and to pay an indemnity. The French continued the struggle by land until 1678.

The general result of the Dutch Wars was that England secured her hold upon her commerce and colonies, and was able thenceforward to apply without restriction the principles of the Mercantile System. The United Provinces, on the other hand, bravely as they had fought and gained battles, were hopelessly weakened, and sank rapidly to the position of a second-class power. In their place France appeared as a new candidate for colonial empire. It was the consciousness of this change on the part of the English people that made the third war so unpopular, and finally forced the King to discontinue it.

Results of the  
Dutch Wars:  
decline of  
Holland and  
rise of France.

### SUMMARY

1. The Navigation Acts were intended to build up an English commercial empire at the expense of the Dutch.

2. The Mercantile System, of which the Acts were a part, rendered England wealthy and strong at sea. But it was afterwards interpreted in such a narrow spirit as to cause the loss of part of the Empire which had been gained by its means.

3. The Mercantile System and the Dutch Wars exhausted the strength of Holland, whose place as the leading sea power was taken by England. At the same time France also appeared as a dangerous rival at sea.

4. Louis XIV. and his successors attempted to make conquests in Europe and to seize a colonial empire at the same time. They thus exhausted the strength of France, whose sea-power ultimately fell before that of England.

#### IMPORTANT DATES

- 1651. Navigation Act, mainly directed against Dutch carrying trade.
- 1652-4. First Dutch War.
- 1660. Navigation Act, by which England monopolised the trade of her own colonies.
- 1660-4. Outburst of English commercial activity.
- 1665-7. Second Dutch War.
- 1670. Secret treaty between Charles II. and Louis XIV.
- 1672-4. Third Dutch War.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES, 1660-1688

#### (i) *The Southern Group*

UNDER the restored Stuarts the colonies of Virginia and Maryland pursued a career of steady and not very eventful prosperity. In the former the Crown continued to appoint the Governors, whose powers were not limited to any great extent by that of the Assembly. In the latter the authority of the proprietors, the Lords Baltimore, remained unabridged until the revolution of 1688.

The Virginians had been on the whole royalist in sentiment during the Civil War. It is true they had accepted Virginia the supremacy of the Commonwealth without and the serious resistance ; but on the restoration of Restoration. Charles II. they hastened to profess their loyalty. The Assembly enacted that January 30th, the anniversary of the execution of Charles I., should be observed as a day of prayer and fasting, and that May 29th, that of the return of his son, should be celebrated as a public holiday. The first Governor under the Restoration, Sir William Berkeley, maintained his tenure of office until 1677. He visited England in 1661 to protest against the Navigation Act of the previous year, which was extremely damaging to the trade profits of the Virginia colonists. Tobacco, one of the "enumerated articles" under the Act, was the sole export of the colony, and had now to be despatched exclusively to England. The result was that the merchants of the mother country absorbed a share of the gains which had formerly gone direct to the planters, for the use of tobacco had now become common throughout

## VIRGINIA

Europe. The protest was unavailing. The maintenance of the Mercantile System was regarded in England as far superior in importance to the interests of the colonists.

Whatever may be thought of this decision—and there were at the time excellent reasons for viewing it as a wise one—another action of Charles II. was calculated to inflict absolutely needless loss upon the colonists. In 1672 he granted Virginia as a proprietary colony to Lords Arlington and Culpeper. This meant that the two Lords had the right to dispose of the lands of the settlers, however long the latter might have been established, to interfere with the tenure of the clergy, and to appoint and dismiss officials at their pleasure. In other words, the two Court favourites were to enjoy the fruits of half a century of hardship and effort on the part of thousands of other men, although they had risked not a penny of their own in the establishment of the colony. Such a monstrous example of jobbery is hard to believe, even of the corrupt rule of Charles II., and the grant was practically annulled before much harm had been done. It must, however, have considerably strained the loyalty of the Virginians.

Berkeley was recalled in 1677 on account of his inactivity in dealing with an Indian rising, and of his severity towards certain of the settlers who raised forces on their own responsibility. Four other Governors were successively appointed before 1688, and of these the last two, Lords Culpeper and Howard, were extremely distasteful to the colonists. The reasons for Culpeper's unpopularity are sufficiently explained by the events of 1672. Lord Howard was a needy fortune hunter, who had no thought of the interests of the colony, and quite openly accepted the post for the sake of the corrupt profits he could make out of it.

During this period the population and material wealth of Virginia had been steadily increasing, and if the royal policy had not done so much towards extinguishing its early loyalty, it might have become one of the most trusty

supports of the English crown. After the expulsion of James II. in 1688 there followed a long period in which the colony was left practically to manage its own affairs, the Governors appointed being men of a better stamp than those of Charles II.

Maryland, under the rule of its just and sensible proprietors, was shielded from the worst effects of the corruption which threatened Virginia. At the Maryland, 1660-88. Revolution of 1688 it accepted the authority

of William III. and Mary. At the same time the proprietors, as Catholics, lost some of their privileges, and the colony came more directly under the control of the Crown.

It will be remembered that the region to the south of Virginia had been the scene of Raleigh's original experiments in colonisation, and had afterwards been Carolina a proprietary colony, 1663. granted to Sir Robert Heath by Charles I. From that monarch it had received its name of Carolina, but nothing had been done to occupy it with colonists. The exploitation of Carolina was energetically taken in hand soon after the Restoration. In 1663 eight proprietors, prominent at Court and in English politics, obtained the grant of the whole coast-line between Virginia and the Spanish territory of Florida. In extent this was the largest block of land yet granted to any single group of promoters, but in population and wealth the settlements formed long remained inferior to their northern neighbours. This slow growth was due to the effects of the climate, much warmer and more enervating than that of Virginia.

Unlike the other colonies, Carolina was not settled mainly by emigrants from England. Virginia, Massachusetts and Barbados contributed the bulk of the pioneers, and two distinct settlements were eventually formed. That on the Albemarle River became known as North Carolina, and the later one centring round the harbour of Charleston became the nucleus of South Carolina. The northern colony, the first to be formed, was for half a century extremely backward and unsuccessful. The country was unhealthy and produced few commodities

of value for export. The settlers were shiftless and quarrelsome; many were men who had been failures in the other colonies, and they were in a chronic state of sedition and discontent.

The southern settlement was established by the proprietors in 1670, and speedily became superior in every way to the one just described. Its natural advantage South lay in the fact that Charleston was a first-class Carolina harbour. The settlers in this case came partly from England and partly from the West Indies, and speedily set up a system of large rice- and tobacco-growing estates worked by slave labour on the West Indian model. The social order differed in one respect from that of Virginia; the planters, instead of residing on their estates, passed most of their time at Charleston, which thus became a city of some wealth and importance. Although a more enterprising colony than North Carolina, the growth of South Carolina was slow as compared with Virginia. By the end of the century there were about 10,000 inhabitants, the vast majority being negro slaves. The rule of the proprietors was thrown off by the colonists of the South in 1719, and they resigned their rights in the North in 1729. Thenceforward the government of the Carolinas resembled that of Virginia, consisting of a Governor appointed by the Crown, a Council, and an Assembly elected by the freemen.

Although lying outside the limits of the seventeenth century, the foundation of Georgia may conveniently be described here. It was the last colony to be Georgia, planted under English rule, and it completes 1732 the southern group, of which Virginia was the pioneer. The founder, General James Oglethorpe, was inspired by philanthropic motives. He had interested himself in the conditions of English prisons, and came to the conclusion that many unfortunate men might do well if given a chance to begin life afresh in a colony beyond the sea. In 1732 he and his associates obtained a grant of the land lying between South Carolina and Florida. With a few settlers

they ascended the River Savannah and founded the town of that name in a good military position on its southern bank. Other townships were similarly founded, somewhat to the disgust of the Spaniards in Florida. Ten years after the original plantation a Spanish attempt at conquest was successfully beaten off.

In spite of the unpromising class of men which Oglethorpe took out to Georgia, the colony gradually made its way to success. The founder had been opposed to slavery, but the warmth of the climate caused his objection to be overridden. In 1752 he surrendered his proprietary rights and Georgia became a Crown Colony.

### (ii) *The Middle Colonies*

The term "Middle Colonies" comprises New York, New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania, covering between them the whole of the territory separating the southern group from New England. All these colonies were acquired by conquest or settlement during the reign of Charles II.

Henry Hudson, in his third voyage of discovery—the only one which he made in Dutch service—had discovered the course of the Hudson River. The prospect of establishing there a valuable fur trade led the Dutch West India Company to secure from its Government the right of planting settlements in the basin of the Hudson and on the adjoining coasts, and also upon Long Island, which lies close to the mouth of that river. The Dutch settlements were rather of the nature of trading posts than of a genuine colony after the New England model. They were established in 1626 and the following years, and before long were engaged in boundary disputes with the growing English colonies of Connecticut and New Haven. A little later, in 1638, Sweden planted a settlement further to the south on the estuary of the Delaware River. The Swedes were conquered in 1655 by a Dutch expedition from New Amsterdam, their headquarters at the mouth of the Hudson.

The Dutch now occupied the whole coast-line between

Connecticut and Maryland, but their posts were weakly held, and the Dutch nation took little interest in them. Cromwell contemplated their conquest in 1654, but the peace of that year stayed his hand. The opening years of Charles II.'s reign, as we have seen, were a time of exceptional maritime activity, in which the fruits of Cromwell's policy were gathered in. The operation of the new Navigation Act of 1660, which dealt with the trade of the colonies, was nullified by the presence of the Dutch on the American coast. The English colonists carried on an extensive trade in Dutch bottoms in defiance of the Act; and Clarendon, the prime minister at the time, resolved upon the expulsion of the Dutch.

In 1664 the Duke of York was granted proprietary rights over the whole territory, and despatched an expedition to effect the conquest. The force was under the command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, and consisted of four armed ships with less than five hundred soldiers. Small as it was, the Dutch were unable to make any resistance. Peter Stuyvesant, the Governor of New Amsterdam, hauled down his flag on August 29th, 1664, and the colony passed under English rule without the spilling of a drop of blood. It was at once renamed New York. The new proprietor thus easily became possessed of the most valuable stretch of North American territory. Perhaps without realising the importance of his act, he at once granted the southern portion of his conquest to two of his personal favourites, Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley. Their territory stretched from the mouth of the Hudson to that of the Delaware, and received the name of New Jersey.

Colonel Nicolls at once proceeded to consolidate the English hold upon New York. His measures were at once firm and conciliatory, and prove him to have been a statesman of the highest type. The government which he established granted religious liberty to all Christians, and left the Dutch settlers in full possession of their property. At the same time the

Conquest of  
New Amsterdam,  
1664.

Reorganisa-  
tion of  
New York.



smallness of their numbers allowed plenty of room for English emigrants from New England. The majority of the Dutch, including Governor Stuyvesant himself, decided to remain in the colony, and swore allegiance to the English Government. Four years after the conquest, Nicolls returned to England. He was killed by a cannon ball at his patron's side at the battle of Southwold Bay in 1672.

The acquisition of New York was destined to have a future importance which perhaps its original captors failed to realise. Reference to a physical map of the region will show that the Hudson River valley leads due northwards from the coast in the direction of Canada. Within a few miles of the head waters of the Hudson is the southern end of Lake Champlain, connected with the St. Lawrence by the navigable River Richelieu. Thus a good military route extended from New York into the heart of Canada. If the Hudson had not fallen into English hands, the French, in the wars of the eighteenth century, would very possibly have been able to conquer New England by its means. At least their own position in Canada would have been immeasurably strengthened. When the news of Nicolls's success reached the French they were thunderstruck, and a French officer in prophetic phrase remarked that "the King of England did grasp at all America." England increased the value of the conquest by an alliance with the Iroquois or Five Nations, the strong Indian tribe which held the frontier regions between the French and English colonies.

In the meantime Carteret and Berkeley had been supervising the settlement of New Jersey. Their holdings were at first governed separately as East and West Jersey. After many changes and disputes both proprietors disposed of their rights to other persons, and ultimately the two colonies fell mainly into the hands of Quaker settlers. Among the purchasers was William Penn, who later founded a larger colony of his own. Both New Jersey and New York were temporarily

reconquered by a Dutch fleet in 1673, but at the Treaty of Westminster in the following year they were restored to England. The inhabitants showed no eagerness to return to Dutch allegiance. The eastern and western sections of New Jersey were ultimately united into one colony in 1702, when the proprietors surrendered their rights to the Crown.

William Penn the Quaker was the son of that Admiral Penn who had conquered Jamaica for Cromwell, and who had afterwards helped to bring about the Restoration of Charles II. For services per-

formed Charles owed the admiral a sum of £16,000, which he never paid during his creditor's lifetime. William Penn inherited the claim, and, anxious to found a Quaker colony where his ideas of government might have greater scope than in New Jersey, accepted in lieu of the money a grant of unoccupied land on the western bank of the River Delaware. Penn's patent of proprietorship was made out in 1681. The boundaries of his colony were Maryland on the south, New Jersey and New York on the east, and the vaguely known forest country stretching towards the Great Lakes on the north and west. Its outlet to the sea was provided by the navigable estuary of the Delaware. The first band of settlers, many of whom were Welsh, went out in 1682, and commenced the laying out of their capital city of Philadelphia. They

were for the most part Quakers, but no Christian sect was excluded. During the succeeding years the colony was joined by many Germans, Frenchmen, Scots and Anglo-Irish.

Unlike other promoters of plantation, Penn sought no profit from his enterprise. In addition to the £16,000 which the King owed him, and which he probably had little chance of receiving in any case, he expended £6,000 more on the settlement of the colony. His reward was that its success from the outset was unprecedented. In two years Philadelphia contained over three hundred houses, and a flourishing trade in furs and timber sprang

up with Europe and the other colonies. Agriculture prospered, and outlying farmers might work at clearing the forests untroubled by any dread of Indian attack. In his dealings with the Indians, Penn's principles were seen at their highest. He refused to allow his colonists to occupy land which the natives had not formally surrendered on fair terms, and for seventy years the most perfect amity reigned between white man and red.

Faulty geographical knowledge had led to the definition of Pennsylvania's boundaries in such a manner that they Penn and the overlapped those of the neighbouring colonies. Duke of York. The Duke of York governed the southern side of the Delaware estuary, (the present state of Delaware) as a dependency of New York. But between the Catholic heir to the throne and the Quaker Penn there were ever feelings of the liveliest friendship and respect. The Duke made over his Delaware territories without demur, and they were incorporated in Pennsylvania. With Lord Baltimore, the proprietor of Maryland, there was on the contrary a tedious boundary dispute which it took many years to settle.

Penn had devised a somewhat over-elaborate constitution for his colony, consisting of a Council of seventy-two members and an Assembly of 200. This was Characteris- unworkable in practice, since there were not a tics of the colony. sufficient number of men with political experience to fill all the places. The two houses were soon reduced to much more manageable proportions. Penn returned to England for the last time in 1701. Considering all that he had done for them, the colonists exhibited some lack of gratitude towards him in his later years. After his withdrawal the chief characteristics of Pennsylvania showed that his influence at least persisted. They may be summed up as : sober and orderly progress, enlightened legal and educational policy, humane treatment of the Indians, and strong dislike of war. The latter trait of the Pennsylvanians caused some irritation to their neighbours during the struggles against the French and the War of

Independence in the eighteenth century. The New Englanders complained that the Quakers did not do their share of the fighting, although they necessarily profited by its results.

### (iii) *New England*

The early effects of the Restoration in New England were to produce settlements of certain outstanding disputes which had been neglected while the home government was in an unstable condition. Consolidation of New England.  
The little colony of New Haven was absorbed by Connecticut. The hold of Massachusetts upon Maine was made permanent; but New Hampshire, also claimed by Massachusetts, was made into a separate colony with the usual machinery of government. The charter of Massachusetts was confirmed, with the proviso that there were to be no religious disabilities to citizenship.

The Navigation Acts, with their insistence upon the exclusive employment of English shipping, were as objectionable to New England as to Virginia. The New Englanders freely disregarded them, and also carried on trade with the other colonies without paying the duties prescribed for such traffic. To remedy this a strong body of customs officials were sent from England to enforce the laws, and their methods aroused the keen dislike of the colonists. This remained a standing grievance until the colonies passed out of British control.

Another misfortune of this period was an Indian war in 1674-6. The natives, under a chief named Philip, committed savage onslaughts on the frontier New England and the Indians. regions, and many outlying settlers were massacred. Philip's forces were finally dispersed, and he himself was killed. The New Englanders, in contrast to their broader-minded neighbours in the South, were always guilty of unsympathetic treatment of the natives; and this war was one which would probably have been avoided by the policy employed in Pennsylvania and Virginia. Later on, in the days of the struggle

with France, New England suffered greatly by the hostility of the Indians, who almost invariably sided with the French.

Towards the end of the reign of Charles II. the English Government became seriously alarmed at the independent

spirit of New England. A scheme was accordingly formed to abolish popular government in those colonies, and also in New York and New Jersey. The whole of the seven provinces concerned were to be brought under the control of a single governor, and no provision was made for his powers to be limited by local assemblies. This plan was evidently due to the Duke of York, and when he ascended the throne as James II. in 1685 he vigorously pushed it to completion. A beginning was made in 1684 with the annulment of the charter of Massachusetts. Those of Connecticut, Rhode Island and Plymouth were next dealt with in a similar manner, after most lively protests by the inhabitants. In New York the same course was followed almost without eliciting a single complaint. James appointed Sir Edmund Andros, an honest but somewhat unintelligent man, as Governor of the consolidated territory.

Massachusetts, as the strongest of the injured colonies, naturally made the stiffest resistance. Agitation continued throughout the short reign of James II. and was only prevented by its sudden close from developing into armed conflict. In the spring of 1689 rumours began to circulate that William of Orange had landed at Torbay, had expelled James II., and had been appointed King in his place. The power of Andros at once collapsed; armed bands arrested him and dispersed his troops, and the rule of the Stuarts ended as suddenly and bloodlessly in New England as in Old. When the confusion of the Revolution had subsided, Connecticut and Rhode Island recovered their charters unchanged. That of Massachusetts was also restored in 1691, with safeguards against religious tyranny, but henceforward her governors were to be appointed by the Crown and not by local election as formerly. At this time also Plymouth

Attempt to abolish popular government.

The fall of the Stuarts.

ceased to be an independent unit, and was merged in Massachusetts.

#### (iv) *The French Colonies*

The interest of the French in North America began, like that of the English, with voyages of discovery and unsuccessful experiments in colonisation in the sixteenth century. The most notable of the early French explorers was Jacques Cartier of St. Malo, who in 1534 and the following years examined and charted the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the surrounding coasts. Attempts to found colonies later in the century were generally on too small a scale, and failed on that account and from lack of experience. They nevertheless served to point out Acadia (Nova Scotia) and Canada as the destined sphere of French efforts in the time to come.

*French expansion in the sixteenth century.*

In 1608 Samuel de Champlain planted the first permanent colony at Quebec; and in the succeeding years he thoroughly surveyed the great network of rivers and lakes of which the St. Lawrence formed the outlet to the Atlantic. The French had at this time no desire to found an agricultural colony like those of New England. Their merchants who financed the expeditions aimed rather at developing a fur trade, employing the Indians as their agents instead of expelling them, as the English were doing. Thus the early status of Quebec and other settlements was that of trading posts.

*Champlain in Canada.*

The enterprise was consolidated in 1627 by the establishment of the Company of New France, the work of Cardinal Richelieu. With a fine disregard of English achievements and claims, its charter granted it exclusive rights of trade and colonisation from Florida to the Arctic circle. In practice, however, it did not interfere with the English colonies. A few years earlier James I. had licensed Sir William Alexander to take possession of the peninsula of Acadia and the mainland adjoining. This grant was the origin of the name of Nova

*The Company of New France, 1627.*

Scotia now applied to that region. In Nova Scotia there were already a few French posts, and Alexander never effected a serious settlement. In Newfoundland the fishermen of both countries had stations on the coast, and shared the island between them throughout the seventeenth century; but here again attempts at a true agricultural colony failed. For the present the only practical outcome of English claims was the despatch of an expedition which captured Quebec in 1629. It was restored by the Treaty of St. Germain in 1632. Had it been retained, the history of North America would have been very different.

Under the Company of New France the progress of the Canadian colony was slow. The Company was unenterprising and not very profitable, and it did little to encourage emigration. Its career was terminated in 1664, at which time the inhabitants of its colony numbered only 2,500. This, for over fifty years of effort, compares very badly with Massachusetts, which reached 20,000 in twelve years.

The place of the original company was taken by the Company of the West, chartered by Louis XIV. under Colbert's advice. This body was granted the monopoly not only of Canada, but also of the French West Indies and Guiana. After ten years' existence it was abolished in 1674, and the colonies were thenceforward administered directly by the French Government.

From this time onward advance was more rapid. The Jesuits pushed fearlessly westwards, exploring and converting the Indians, many of them losing their lives in the process. Lake Superior was discovered, and in 1682 La Salle struck southwards to the headwaters of the Mississippi, which he navigated to its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico. This great achievement led to the plan of colonising the delta of the Mississippi and linking it up with Canada by a line of military posts. The new colony received the name of Louisiana, and was at first a failure. It was established permanently, though on a small scale, in 1698.

Colbert died in 1683, but the prosperity of Canada continued under its able Governor, Frontenac. From 1672 onwards he worked hard to develop the resources of the colony. His ability showed itself principally in military affairs and in the management of the Indians. Under his rule the English were almost expelled from Newfoundland, and the Hudson's Bay Company suffered from his encroachments. Although the population of Canada was largely increased at this period it was still mainly devoted to hunting. Agriculture was subsidiary, and was barely sufficient to provide the colony with food. The agricultural districts were close to the banks of the St. Lawrence and in the neighbourhood of the fortified posts. All else was uncleared forest.

#### SUMMARY

1. Virginia continued to prosper after the Restoration, but was rather badly treated by Charles II. and James II.

2. The Southern Colonies were completed by the foundation of North and South Carolina and Georgia.

3. The conquest of the Dutch settlements led to the foundation of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania—the Middle Colonies. The whole coast of North America between Nova Scotia and Florida was now in English hands.

4. New England became increasingly restive under Stuart rule. An attempt was made to abolish local self-government by placing the whole coast from New Jersey to Maine under a single absolute governor appointed by the Crown. This would have led to armed rebellion but for the English Revolution of 1688. The old system was restored after that date.

5. The French colonised Nova Scotia and the basin of the St. Lawrence during the seventeenth century. They also explored the Mississippi, and planted a settlement at its mouth. These advances rendered a conflict between English and French inevitable.

#### IMPORTANT DATES

1660. Restoration of Charles II.

The Second Navigation Act, greatly affecting colonial trade.



1663. Foundation of North Carolina.

1664. Conquest of New York and New Jersey from the Dutch.

1670. Foundation of South Carolina.

1674. Canada, etc., taken over by the French Crown.

1682. Foundation of Pennsylvania.

1684. Annulment of the charter of Massachusetts.

1685. Death of Charles II. Accession of James II.

Sir Edmund Andros appointed Governor of New York, New Jersey and New England.

1685-8. Rebellious spirit in New England.

1688-9. The English Revolution. Expulsion of James II. Accession of William III. Restoration of charters to the New England colonies.

1732. Foundation of Georgia.

*PART III. THE GREAT WARS, 1689-1815*  
THE AGE OF GAIN AND LOSS BY CONQUEST

CHAPTER I

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD<sup>1</sup>

THE English Revolution of 1688-9 was contemporary with, and formed part of, a general uprising of Europe against the overbearing power of Louis XIV. The During the twenty years which preceded it, ascendancy the English people had been increasingly un- of France. easy at the rapid strides made by France in commerce, colonisation and naval power. No sooner had the Dutch been humbled than a new rival appeared with ambitions yet more dangerous to England, because based upon incalculably greater resources. For a time the inevitable contest had been postponed. Charles II. and James II., the one a secret, the other an openly professed Catholic, had been at heart desirous of restoring Catholicism in England, and at the same time converting its government into an absolute monarchy like that of their cousin, the French King. For this reason they had accepted money and promises of armed support from Louis, and had subordinated their foreign policy to that of France in defiance of the growing indignation of their own subjects.

<sup>1</sup> No attempt is here made to consider the European aspect of these wars. It is assumed that the period has been studied in a general history of England, and that the student has some acquaintance with the careers of Louis XIV., Frederick the Great, and Napoleon, and with the events of the French Revolution.

To this indignation other factors had contributed. In 1685 Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes, the law which gave religious liberty to the Protestants of France. A persecution began which drove thousands of the Huguenots from their own country, many of them coming in great misery to reside in England. At this moment James II. mounted the throne and commenced a systematic violation of the laws which forbade Catholics to hold public offices. The common mind saw in this an understanding between the two kings for the extermination of Protestantism; and James's Declaration of Indulgence for all religions, in itself a reasonable measure, was suspected to be yet one more step to the same end. But James was no longer young, and people took comfort from the fact that the throne would not long be tenanted by a Catholic, for both his daughters, Mary and Anne, were Protestants. The climax was therefore reached when a son was born to him. This boy would certainly be brought up in the Catholic faith, and the Catholic regime would thus continue indefinitely. The story was spread that the child was not really the King's son, but was a pretender smuggled into the palace; and an invitation was despatched to William of Orange, the husband of James's elder daughter, Mary, to come to England and overthrow his father-in-law.

William was at the time expecting the opening of the continental war between France and the League of Augsburg, a coalition of Holland, Spain and the German princes, of which he was the most energetic member. His whole life had been spent in resisting the aggressions of France, and he snatched at the opportunity of gaining control of England and so drawing her into the League. If James had retained the throne, England would have remained neutral, or would have assisted France. William, therefore, accepted the invitation, sailed with a strong fleet and army, and landed at Torbay. The forces of James melted before his advance, refusing to fight for him, and deserting in masses to the invader. After a bloodless campaign, William entered

The English  
Revolution  
causes war  
with France.

London, and James fled in despair to France, taking with him his wife and infant son, known henceforward to the English as the Pretender. In February, 1689, the Crown was offered to and accepted by William and his wife Mary as joint sovereigns of England.

England thus joined the European coalition against France, and the first war of a long series was entered upon. Its causes, as we have seen, were mainly continental and religious, and it had no great effects on the colonial possessions of the two countries. Nevertheless, the resources of France proved unequal to the maintenance of a great fleet and army at the same time. Louis elected to sacrifice the fleet, and the naval predominance of England was thus assured for many years to come. So far as England was concerned, fighting opened in Ireland and in the Channel. On June 30th, 1690, the combined English and Dutch fleets were defeated off Beachy Head by the French Admiral, De Tourville. Next day William himself decided the fate of Ireland at the Battle of the Boyne. James, who had entered Ireland in the previous year, fled to France once more, and in 1691 the remnant of his supporters laid down their arms by the Capitulation of Limerick. Beachy Head was avenged and the command of the sea secured by the victory of the English fleet at La Hogue in 1692. A series of hard-fought campaigns in the Netherlands and on the other land frontiers of France continued until 1697, when peace was signed at Ryswick. By this treaty Louis acknowledged William III. as King of England, but in other respects little was decided. The Treaty of Ryswick was a truce rather than a peace, and no one expected it to endure. The war had, however, established the inferiority of France at sea, and much of the careful work of Colbert was undone. The Mercantile System of England, on the contrary, was more firmly rooted than before.

War of the  
Grand  
Alliance,  
1689-1697.

The ambition of Louis XIV., foiled but not routed at Ryswick, again plunged Europe into war in 1702. The

occasion this time was the death of the King of Spain without an heir. The event had been foreseen and the disposal

War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1713. of his vast dominions had been arranged for by Partition Treaties promoted mainly by William III. The "Sea Powers"—England and Holland—could not stand by and see

Spain, Central and South America, the Spanish Netherlands and the greater part of Italy fall under the sway of France. This great transference was threatened by the fact that Louis XIV. himself claimed to be the rightful successor of the dying king. The Partition Treaties, which Louis himself agreed to, would have avoided such a result by a division of the Spanish Empire. But at the last moment the Spanish King made a will leaving all his dominions to Louis' grandson, Philip of Anjou. Louis decided to throw over the treaties and claim the whole inheritance. Thus began the War of the Spanish Succession, which raged by land and sea until 1713.

The interests for which the contending parties fought were world-wide, and not merely continental, as in the previous war. On the side of France was World-wide interests at stake. Spain, which preferred accepting a Bourbon king to seeing its empire split up. Against these two powers were England, Holland, the Emperor, Prussia and Portugal. The adhesion of the latter to the coalition was secured by the Methuen Treaty (1703); by which England obtained considerable control of Portuguese trade and also the right to use her ports as a base for naval operations. William III. died before the opening of the first campaign, and his place as leader of the English armies was taken by the Duke of Marlborough.

Although great maritime and colonial interests were at stake, the decisive events all took place in Europe. On land Marlborough and Prince Eugene saved Austria from invasion by the victory of Blenheim in 1704, and in the following years Marlborough drove the French from the Netherlands by the successive battles of Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet. In Spain the Archduke Charles,

son of the Emperor Leopold I., attempted with English help to seize the crown in opposition to the Bourbon claimant. After some preliminary successes his hopes were decisively destroyed at the battles of Almanza (1707) and Brihuega (1710). Thenceforward Louis' grandson remained firmly seated on the throne as Philip V. Severe fighting in which England took no part occurred in northern Italy, where Eugene's victory at Turin (1706) was almost as great a blow as Blenheim to Louis XIV. On the sea England was easily master of the situation. Gibraltar was captured in 1704, and Minorca, with its first-class harbour of Port Mahon, in 1709. Backed by irresistible fleets, English commerce increased by leaps and bounds in spite of the depredations of French privateers. The latter did considerable damage, but England was well able to afford it.

Twelve years of incessant strife gave Europe more than its fill of bloodshed. The Treaty of Utrecht, signed in 1713, effected a partition of the spoils which sound statesmanship on the part of Louis XIV. might have obtained at the outset. The Bourbon Philip V. retained Spain and its American possessions. The Spanish Netherlands, which England and Holland particularly dreaded to see under French control, were handed over to Austria; and Spain likewise lost most of her Italian provinces. In North America England made solid acquisitions. France gave up all claims to Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. The last had always hitherto been a French possession; the two former had been bitterly disputed by French and English pioneers. Thus the fringes of the French empire of Canada came into English hands. With Spain also an advantageous treaty was negotiated. Gibraltar and Minorca were confirmed to England, and by the Assiento agreement she obtained the right to supply slaves to all the Spanish colonies, and to send one ship yearly to the Spanish Indies for general trading purposes.

Treaty of  
Utrecht, 1713:  
English  
colonial gains.

The general result of the war was to leave France

exhausted and England much strengthened in her hold upon the ocean commerce of the world. The English flag waved unchallenged over every sea, and during the long peace which followed the advantages secured at Utrecht were developed to the utmost. Holland had borne her share in the fighting, but failed to profit by its results except by securing freedom from French aggression by land. Her commerce and sea power sank lower and lower in comparison with those of England.

The War of the Spanish Succession was followed by twenty-six years of peace in Western Europe. During Long period of peace, this long peace England and France worked hard to establish their colonial and commercial 1713-39. interests. In North America both countries developed their settlements, the French in Canada looking forward to the day when the English provinces should be surrounded by a military chain stretching from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to that of the Mississippi, and thus ultimately crowded out of the continent; the English, on the other hand, intent on extending the acquisitions gained at Utrecht. In India, also, the peace gave scope to the rival East India Companies of the two nations to obtain a firmer grip upon the native princes, whose power was disorganised by the decay of the Mogul Empire. In one respect England was subject to a new disadvantage in the race for world power. During the seventeenth century Spain and France had always been enemies. Now Spain was ruled by a branch of the Bourbon dynasty, and its alliance with the parent stock in France united the two countries against England on three separate occasions in the new period. This alliance is known as the Family Compact.

The peace signed at Utrecht was thus obviously destined to be broken as soon as the colonies in America and the Renewed wars in prospect. Companies in the East had extended their scope sufficiently to come fairly face to face with one another. It would not have endured so long as it did but for the fact that both England and France fell under the guidance of peace-loving ministers

—Sir Robert Walpole and Cardinal Fleuri. Walpole became head of the English Government in 1721. He owed his elevation to the national conviction that he alone of English politicians had behaved honestly in the matter of the South Sea Bubble, and he maintained his sway until 1742. His policy was to meddle as little as possible in European affairs, and to give the country a period of rest in which commerce might develop to the uttermost; for he was a firm adherent of the Mercantile System in its less aggressive aspect. His fall was due to his failure to recognise the results of his own policy. The increase of trade brought England into conflict with the reviving prosperity of the Bourbon powers, but Walpole clung obstinately to peace and, when driven to it, made war in a half-hearted fashion, thus losing the confidence of the country.

The cause which precipitated the new struggle was a series of commercial disputes with Spain. The Spaniards complained that England was abusing the Trade with limited rights of trade with their colonies Spanish granted by the Assiento. The ships which colonies. brought slaves also carried other merchandise; it was asserted that the single vessel allowed to trade annually in general produce at Porto Bello was simply a warehouse, its hold being replenished over and over again from other vessels as fast as its original cargoes were sold; and in addition, a host of unlicensed traders ran cargoes into every unwatched port in open defiance of the treaties. Thus the conditions in which John Hawkins had attempted to force a trade nearly two centuries before were again reproduced, and the story of an outrage corresponding to that of San Juan d'Ulloa occasioned a fresh outburst of warlike spirit in England. An English captain named Jenkins complained that while peaceably sailing in West Indian waters he had been seized by Spanish coastguards and hanged at his own yardarm. He was let down while still alive, and his captors then proceeded to cut off his ear and tell him to take it as a present to the King of



England. The truth of Jenkins' story has been found to be extremely doubtful, but it was believed at the time, and served as the pretext for beginning a contest whose real causes were infinitely wider and deeper.

War was declared in 1739. Its sphere was entirely naval, and it produced no decisive results. It is principally memorable for the voyage of Commodore Anson round the world, a voyage in which he repeated the exploits of Drake and Cavendish by rounding Cape Horn, raiding the Spanish colonies on the west coast of America, and capturing a rich galleon in the Pacific. The extraordinary hardships which he suffered and surmounted are to be read at length in the account of the voyage written by the chaplain of his ship. They supply a grim picture of life at sea in the eighteenth century.

In the meantime a European war had independently arisen over the question of the Austrian Succession. England and France at first took part as auxiliaries only, but formally declared war against one another in 1744. The hard-fought battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy, and the Jacobite rising in Scotland in 1745 were European incidents of the struggle, but more important were the successes of the French in India under Dupleix and La Bourdonnais. The English Company lost Madras to the latter, and saw their hold upon the country well-nigh extinguished. In America a force of New Englanders captured the French fortress of Louisbourg at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The final decision of the great colonial question was postponed by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. France restored Madras, and England Louisbourg, leaving matters in the same position as before the war. An impression was now universal that a decisive conflict must soon come, and the eight years of nominal peace which followed Aix-la-Chapelle are scarcely worthy of the name, for fighting went on unchecked both in America and India.

In the latter country Dupleix continued his system of gaining control of the native princes by his political ability, and then turning their forces against the English. But, although matchless in intrigue, <sup>Dupleix.</sup> he lacked military skill, and his successful career was checked by the genius of Clive in 1751. Before he could recover the lost ground he was recalled by his own Directors in France, who were indignant that he thought more of conquest than of commercial profits. After his departure India enjoyed three years' peace before feeling the effects of the Seven Years' War.

In North America there was no such peaceful interval. The French authorities in Canada pushed forward their scheme of linking up that country with French Louisiana by means of a series of fortified <sup>expansion in</sup> posts along the valleys of the Ohio and the <sup>America.</sup> Mississippi. The most notable of these was Fort Duquesne, lying to the west of Pennsylvania. By this policy the English pioneers were prevented from expanding west of the Alleghany Mountains, and the colonists took up arms on their own responsibility while peace still endured in Europe. In Nova Scotia also the boundary was unsettled, and French emissaries worked unceasingly in stirring up sedition among the inhabitants, of whom the vast majority were of French origin. The English Governor was ultimately obliged to deport several thousands of these people, distributing them among the older English colonies.

A colonial attempt on Fort Duquesne failed in 1754, and both England and France sent out strong reinforcements in the following year. In 1755 also <sup>The Seven</sup> they captured each other's shipping on a <sup>Years' War,</sup> large scale at sea, so that the war may really <sup>1756 (1755)-63.</sup> be said to have begun then. It was thus, properly speaking, an eight years' war so far as England was concerned, although it has received its name of the Seven Years' War from the fact that the contemporary struggle upon the continent of Europe did not break out until the summer of 1756.

The opening years of this world-contest were disastrous to England. In 1755 General Braddock with a force of The English British regulars and colonials was ambushed unfortunate, on his way to attack Fort Duquesne. He 1755-7. himself was killed and his troops routed. The years 1756 and 1757 were also unfortunate in America. The English forces, under an incompetent general, effected nothing, and the colonial frontiers suffered hideous atrocities at the hands of Indians in the French service. In 1756 also England lost the island of Minorca, in those days the key of the Mediterranean. In India Suraj-u-Dowlah, the Nawab of Bengal, took the English factory at Calcutta and perpetrated the outrage of the Black Hole. Some at least of these disasters were due to the incompetence of the Home Government, presided over by the Duke of Newcastle. The latter was an adept at bribery and corruption and political manœuvres of all kinds, but had none of the organizing ability necessary for the conduct of a war. But in William Pitt the nation possessed just the type of statesman necessary for the emergency. Pitt enjoyed a short term of office in 1756, but was turned out by Newcastle's corrupt influence before he had time to effect reforms. A deadlock ensued; Pitt enjoyed the confidence of the country; Newcastle wielded the power of the political machine. A solution was found by the formation of a joint ministry in which Pitt managed the war while Newcastle controlled domestic affairs.

As soon as Pitt was fairly in the saddle the reverses suffered by the British arms ceased. His grand merit was that he appointed capable leaders without Pitt and respect to favouritism and political jobbery; victory. and, having appointed them, he backed them wholeheartedly to the utmost extent of his resources. English soldiers and seamen all over the world felt the grip of a master hand, and they responded to it by efforts of which they would have been incapable under the hesitating incompetence of Newcastle. In America the year 1758 saw the beginning of an advance upon the French in three different

directions. The fortress of Louisbourg surrendered to Amherst and Wolfe; Fort Duquesne fell to Forbes; only in the central advance, by way of Lake Champlain, were the English unsuccessful. In that quarter the Marquis de Montcalm, commander-in-chief in Canada, inflicted a bloody repulse at Ticonderoga upon General Abercrombie.

The next year, 1759, was known as "the year of victories." The entrance to the St. Lawrence had been laid open by the capture of Louisbourg. A British expedition sailed up that river under Wolfe to besiege Quebec. The French concentrated their forces for its defence, abandoning their outlying posts on Lake Champlain. On September 13th Wolfe won the decisive battle before the walls of Quebec. Although he fell at the moment of victory, the town surrendered five days later. Montreal capitulated in 1760, and the French flag disappeared finally from North America. While Wolfe was deciding the fate of Canada, France was making an effort to obtain the command of the Channel preparatory to an invasion of England itself. This plan was frustrated by the annihilation of the French fleet by Lord Hawke in Quiberon Bay (November 20th, 1759).

In India matters took a similar course. The Comte de Lally arrived at Pondicherry in 1758 with a force intended to drive the English from the country. His plans failed one after the other. He was obliged to raise the siege of Madras (1759), was defeated by Sir Eyre Coote in a pitched battle at Wandewash (1760), and finally surrendered the fortress of Pondicherry and the remnants of his army in 1761. Before Lally's arrival in the Carnatic, Clive had sailed for Bengal to avenge the tragedy of Calcutta. His victory of Plassey (June 23rd, 1757), ultimately caused the whole province of Bengal to fall into the hands of the East India Company. The French factory of Chandernagore on the Ganges was destroyed. Thus the French lost their empire in India

as decisively as in America. Spain, with singular lack of wisdom, chose this moment to renew the Family Compact and enter the struggle against an England flushed with unprecedented triumphs. Her temerity was punished by the capture of the Philippines by an expedition from India, and of Havana, the capital of Cuba, by a fleet from England. Several French West Indian islands fell at the same time into English hands.

The successes of the Seven Years' War were due to the statesmanship of Pitt; and he would undoubtedly have closed it by a treaty securing the full fruits of Treaty of Paris, 1763. victory to England. But he was driven from office in 1761 by the machinations of George III., who had succeeded his grandfather in the previous year. The new King was jealous of Pitt's renown, and determined to entrust the Government to the Marquis of Bute, a favourite of his own. It was Bute, therefore, who was responsible for the Treaty of Paris, which ended the war in 1763. By it England obtained from France the whole of Canada and its dependencies, four West Indian islands and the island of Minorca; and from Spain the peninsula of Florida. In their haste to conclude peace, George III. and Bute restored Cuba and the Philippines to Spain, and Pondicherry to France, and these needless concessions involved the favourite in such a storm of unpopularity that he was glad to retire from political life soon afterwards. Pitt would certainly have done better, but even as it was the colonial supremacy of England was secured. The menace to the American colonies was removed, and the East India Company had little to fear from French rivalry in the future. The French, it is true, recovered Pondicherry and its dependent stations, but only as commercial factories and not as fortresses. The acquisition of Bengal inclined the balance of power decisively in favour of England, and her enemy never again made any conquests of Indian territory.

The close of the Seven Years' War marks the highest point attained by the British Empire in the eighteenth

century, and it was followed within twenty years by a crushing reverse, the loss of the American colonies. The completeness of the success bred over-confidence. Statesmen occupied their whole energies in sordid domestic wrangles, to the neglect of imperial interests. The quarrel with the colonies was allowed to grow to uncontrollable proportions by men who scarcely realised that it existed. And at the same time the steady rebuilding of the French navy, foreboding a future Bourbon revenge for the Treaty of Paris, passed almost unnoticed. Thus the outbreak of war in New England in 1775 found the fleets and armies of England in a far different state of efficiency from that of 1763.

The War of Independence was waged by the American colonists alone until 1778. At the outset the fighting was confined to New England, where the first great battle, that of Bunker's Hill, was fought for the possession of Boston. The struggle in New England came to an end with the surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga in the autumn of 1777. Burgoyne had marched southwards from Canada by the Lake Champlain route, intending to join hands with a force coming northwards from New York, and then to crush the New Englanders. His failure had the military result of freeing New England and the political result of deciding the Bourbon powers to join in the war.

France declared war in 1778, and Spain in 1779. Their primary motives were avowedly revenge for the humiliations suffered in the past, and a desire to recover some of their lost colonies. There was no fighting on the soil of Europe itself except at Gibraltar. Hence the contest has been given the name of the Maritime War. The most important operations took place in the West Indies and on the American coast.

After the disaster of Saratoga the English commanders left New England alone and set themselves to reduce the middle and southern states. Here there was a considerable number of loyalists, particularly in New York, which

remained the English headquarters until the end of the war. In 1780 Lord Cornwallis carried on a successful campaign in the southern states, almost reducing Georgia and the Carolinas to obedience. He was opposed by Washington, who was now assisted by considerable numbers of French troops. In 1781 Cornwallis arrived, with his army much reduced, at Yorktown on the coast of Virginia. Yorktown, He intended to entrench himself there and 1781. await reinforcements by sea from New York. Washington followed him to Yorktown and saw a chance of winning a great success. He sent an urgent message to De Grasse, the commander of the French fleet in the West Indies, to make sail at once for the Virginia coast. De Grasse complied, and anchored off Yorktown. Cornwallis thus found himself blockaded by land and sea, and cut off from New York. The English fleet from that place made a half-hearted attempt to raise the blockade, but it was inferior in force and retired unsuccessful. After a gallant resistance Cornwallis surrendered with his whole army.

The disaster of Yorktown decided the War of Independence, and England acknowledged the separation of the United States from the Empire at the end of 1782. The Maritime War still provided some events of importance. The three years' siege of Gibraltar by France and Spain ended in 1782, when a great final attack was beaten off with heavy loss. In the same year the Bourbon forces captured Minorca and some West Indian Islands. But their West Indian successes were decisively reversed by the victory of Rodney over De Grasse at the Battle of the Saints. The French admiral was taken with five ships of the line, and the islands were then at the mercy of England. In India the native princes of the centre and south were stirred up against England by French intrigues. The ability of Warren Hastings and Sir Eyre Coote weathered the storm, and English power remained unimpaired, although for a time the settlements in the Carnatic were in great danger.

A series of treaties signed at Versailles in 1783 brought the struggle to a close. That between England and France practically repeated the Treaty of Paris, for the conquests on either side, unimportant in scope, were for the most part restored. Spain obtained from England the restoration of Minorca and Florida, but failed to secure Gibraltar, the principal object of her efforts. Thus the only extensive gainers by the war were the Americans, for they alone secured in full the objects for which they fought. England had lost her oldest and richest colonies, and a fatal blow had been dealt at the Mercantile System, which based itself on a monopoly of colonial trade. Her sea-power seemed to be shattered and her empire on the point of breaking up. Yet the next generation saw her maritime supremacy more decisive than ever, and new colonies rapidly rising to take the place of the old. The greatest losers were, in fact, the Bourbon powers. They had indeed obtained their revenge at Yorktown, but they had obtained nothing more. France in particular was so loaded with debt that she drifted ever deeper and deeper into difficulties, until the old monarchy and the old social order were engulfed in the Revolution. Spain was in little better case. By promoting a war of independence on the part of colonists she had set a fatal example to her own vast possessions. Forty years later the whole of the Spanish colonies on the mainland revolted and became the Central and South American republics of the present day.

The War of Independence and the Maritime War were the last strictly colonial contests which this period produced. There remained the Revolutionary War (1793-1802) and the Napoleonic War (1803-15), but these struggles, like that which followed the expulsion of James II., were mainly European in their causes. For the purpose of this survey they may be considered as one, for they were divided by a truce of less than twelve months' duration.

The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1793-1815.



The British fleets soon asserted their superiority over the disorganised navy of France, but the latter secured England's naval supremacy at different times the services of the Spanish, Dutch and Danish squadrons. All these were successively destroyed by England, which by a series of victories swept all hostile flags from the seas. The chief steps in this process were Lord Howe's victory of the First of June, 1794, over the French; the defeats of the Spanish fleet at St. Vincent, and of the Dutch at Camperdown in 1797; the Battle of the Nile, 1798, in which Nelson annihilated the French power in the Mediterranean; the Battle of Copenhagen, 1801, in which the Danish fleet was destroyed; and finally the Battle of Trafalgar, 1805, in which the combined French and Spanish fleets were overwhelmed by Nelson. After Trafalgar there were no more great naval battles, for Napoleon was never again able to send a formed fleet to sea.

During the remainder of the war England established a practical monopoly of ocean-borne trade, and also acquired some colonial possessions of importance. Holland had become part of Napoleon's empire, and her colonies were therefore open to attack. In this way the Cape of Good Hope, the nucleus of the present great South African State, fell into English hands, as also did the island of Ceylon. This war also brought the possession of Malta and Mauritius, islands of great strategic importance. In 1812 the United States declared war upon England. The Americans were irritated at the English claim to the right of search of neutral ships, and also they hoped to conquer Canada while England's armies were fully occupied in Europe. The war of 1812 was bitterly contested and inconclusive; it ended in 1815 without any territory changing hands, and without settling the question of neutral rights. In India, the same period saw a great extension of the territories of the East India Company, mainly acquired under the Governor-Generalship of the Marquis Wellesley. British rule became supreme in the South of India and

made great advances in the North-West. In the centre the military sway of the Mahrattas was broken, and they gradually ceased to be a menace to the peace of the country. During all the turmoil and bloodshed which agitated the rest of the world from 1793 to 1815, the development of the Australian colonies went on in undisturbed tranquillity. The first settlement had been made at Sydney in 1788.

The Congress of Vienna in 1815 put an end to the period of the great wars. The century following that date was a period in which the expansion of the British Empire was in the main peaceful. It gave rise, indeed, to numerous colonial wars of minor importance, but until 1914 it was not the cause of a struggle with any European nation.

### SUMMARY OF THE GREAT WARS<sup>1</sup>

1. War of the Grand Alliance, 1689-1697.
  - 1692. Battle of La Hogue.
  - 1697. Treaty of Ryswick ; restoration of colonial conquests.
2. War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1713.
  - 1704. Capture of Gibraltar.
  - 1711. Failure of New England expedition against Quebec.
  - 1713. Treaty of Utrecht ; England gains Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Hudson's Bay, Gibraltar, Minorca and trading rights with Spanish America.
3. Jenkins' Ear War, 1739-48, and War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-48.
  - 1740-4. Anson's voyage.
  - 1745. Capture of Louisbourg by New Englanders.
  - 1746. Capture of Madras by the French.
  - 1748. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle ; restoration of conquests.

<sup>1</sup> The dates of the several wars, and the names of the treaties concluding them, should be committed to memory before proceeding to the next chapter

## 4. Unofficial War in India and North America, 1749-55.

1749-50. Dupleix obtains control of the Carnatio.

1751. Clive's capture and defence of Arcot.

1752. Establishment of Fort Duquesne.

1754. Recall of Dupleix.

1755. Braddock's disaster near Fort Duquesne.

## 5. Seven Years' War, 1756-63.

1756. Black Hole of Calcutta.

1757. Battle of Plassey and conquest of Bengal.

1758. Capture of Louisbourg and Fort Duquesne.

1759. Capture of Quebec. Battle of Quiberon Bay.

1760. Battle of Wandewash.

Capture of Montreal and conquest of Canada.

1761. Capture of Pondicherry.

1762. Capture of Cuba, the Philippines and the French West Indies.

1763. Treaty of Paris; England retains Canada, some West Indian islands, Florida and Minorca; and restores Pondicherry, some French West Indian islands, Cuba and the Philippines.

## 6. War of American Independence, 1775-82, and the Maritime War, 1778-83.

1775. Battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill (New England).

1777. Surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga.

1778. France declares war.

1779. Spain declares war.

1779-82. Siege of Gibraltar.

1781. Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown (Virginia).

1782. Rodney's naval victory in West Indies.

1783. Treaty of Versailles; United States acknowledged to be independent; restoration of conquests by France and England; restoration of Minorca and Florida to Spain.

## 7. Revolutionary War, 1793-1802.

1794. Howe's victory of the First of June.

1796. Capture of British Guiana from the Dutch.

1797. Battles of St. Vincent and Camperdown.

1798. Battle of the Nile.

1799. Conquest of Mysore.

- 1800. Capture of Malta.
- 1801. Battle of Copenhagen.
- 1802. Treaty of Amiens; England restores conquests from European powers, except Ceylon, Trinidad and Malta.
- 8. Napoleonic War, 1803-15, and War with United States, 1812-15.
  - 1803. Defeats of the Mahrattas.
  - 1805. Battle of Trafalgar.
  - 1806. Capture of the Cape of Good Hope.
  - 1810. Capture of Mauritius.
  - 1814-15. Treaties of Paris and Congress of Vienna; England retains Malta, Tobago, St. Lucia, Mauritius, Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon and British Guiana.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE DECISIVE STRUGGLE IN INDIA, 1744-63

DURING the first forty years of the eighteenth century, the East India Companies of England and France were content to pursue the time-honoured policy of avoiding entanglement in native politics, and limiting themselves strictly to legitimate trade within the spheres of influence of their respective factories. The wars of William III. and Anne were thus scarcely felt in the East, and the period of strife did not begin until after the entry of the two countries as principals into the War of the Austrian Succession in 1744.

The French and British in India. At that date the three principal British settlements were at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, each having subordinate posts dependent upon it. The French headquarters in India was at Pondicherry, some eighty miles south of Madras on the Coromandel Coast. They had also a post in Bengal at Chandernagore, near Calcutta, and an unimportant station upon the Malabar or south-western coast of the peninsula. The Dutch and the Portuguese still maintained trading posts at various points, but their presence had little effect upon the Anglo-French struggle. When that struggle opened the European pioneers had barely touched the fringe of the great country whose fate was to be decided ; there was still plenty of room for peaceful expansion ; and the contest was precipitated by the restless enterprise of one man, Joseph François Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherry.

Dupleix was born at Landrecies in 1697, and made his first voyage in the French Company's service in 1715.

His ability being recognised, he was made Governor of Chandernagore in 1730. During eleven years' service there he increased the value of its commerce in such a striking fashion that, on a vacancy arising, the Directors of the Company appointed him to the Governorship of Pondicherry and the supreme control of all their affairs in India. He was forty-four years of age when he received this promotion, and had spent the greater part of his life in the East. He had studied the customs, the languages, and above all the politics, of the native races, and had formed a very original and far-reaching plan for converting the whole of India into a great French empire, from which European rivals were to be altogether excluded. It was his misfortune that he never succeeded in bringing his employers and the French Government to an understanding of his point of view, and he had thus to struggle continually against their disapproval as well as against his natural enemies, the English.

Dupléix's plan was based upon the political state of India resulting from the decay of the Mogul Empire. Since the death of Aurungzebe in 1707 the control of the emperors over their outlying dependencies had been reduced to a mere shadow. Such power as they retained was limited to the district surrounding their capital of Delhi, far remote from any part of the coast-line. The princes, on the other hand, who had been vassals to the emperors in former days, had now become practically independent, and were frequently at war with one another. Few of their thrones were stable, and the decease of a ruler was often the signal for civil wars over a disputed succession, and for innumerable plots and counterplots. Dupléix had observed that Indian soldiers led by Europeans made excellent fighting material, and his design was to interfere in native politics, and so to gain control of one or two states by placing their rulers under obligations to him for military assistance. Then he proposed to turn the forces of these

*His policy  
based on the  
state of  
politics in  
India.*

states against others, and thus ultimately to penetrate the entire country with French influence. He was convinced that in its disunited condition India would fall captive to the energy and valour of a few hundred Frenchmen. The districts in which he determined to begin his operations were the Carnatic, covering the whole south-eastern coast and containing both Madras and Pondicherry; and the Deccan, the great inland province covering, at its largest extent, the whole south-central plateau of India. North of the Deccan the country, almost up to the gates of Delhi, was subject to the military power of the Mahratta chieftains, whose raids frequently extended as far as the Carnatic.

Dupleix had not yet found an opportunity of entering upon his great scheme when the news of war between

Great Britain and France arrived in the East.  
*La Bour-* The island of Mauritius was then in French  
*donnais* hands, and from it Admiral La Bourdonnais set  
*takes Madras,* sail in 1746 for Pondicherry. After fighting an  
*1746.*

English squadron on the way he reached that port with his fleet containing over 3,000 men. This was a reinforcement which gave the French a decisive advantage in the Carnatic, where the numbers of European fighting men were generally reckoned by hundreds rather than thousands. Concerting his measures with Dupleix, La Bourdonnais proceeded to attack Madras. The defences of the town were in a feeble state, and it surrendered on September 21st, 1746, after a siege of a few days' duration. La Bourdonnais, in common with most of his countrymen, entirely failed to sympathise with the vast schemes of Dupleix, and he accordingly agreed to a capitulation by which Madras was to be restored to England on payment of a ransom. Dupleix was furious at this generosity, and a violent quarrel broke out between himself and the Admiral. In defiance of the capitulation, Dupleix refused to restore the town, and La Bourdonnais was forced to quit the coast by the approach of the stormy season.

Among the prisoners taken at Madras was Robert Clive, at that time a writer in the East India Company's service. He and other prisoners had given their parole not to escape, but considered themselves absolved from this promise by

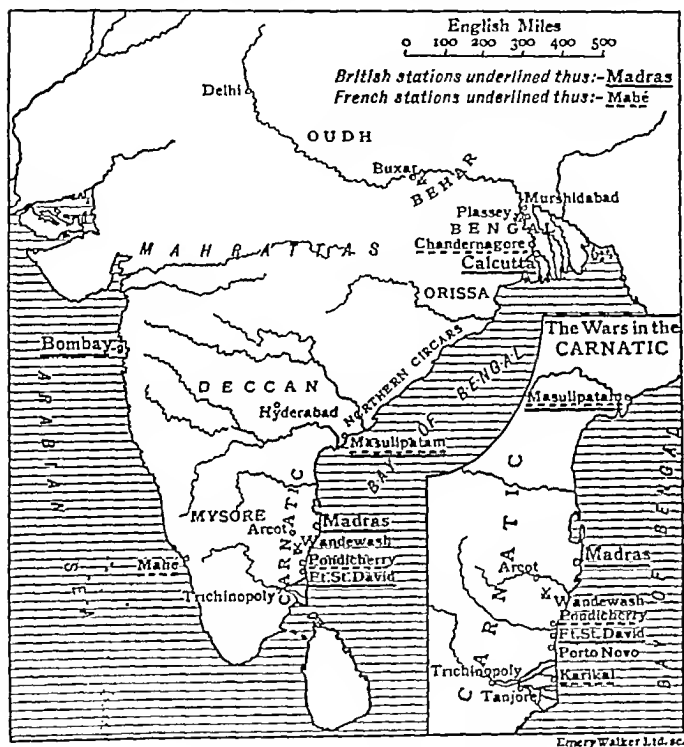


FIG. 7.—INDIA IN THE TIME OF CLIVE.

the fact that the French on their side had violated the capitulation. Accordingly Clive made his way secretly out of Madras and succeeded in reaching Fort St. David, a small dependent factory on the coast some eighteen miles south of Pondicherry. Fort St. David was now the only place in the

Defence of  
Fort St.  
David.



Carnatic still remaining in English hands. Dupleix immediately set about besieging it in order to complete the expulsion of the English from that part of India. Fort St. David, however, made a good defence, and obtained some help from the Nawab of Arcot, the native ruler of the province. It was finally saved by the arrival of a British fleet under Admiral Boscawen in the spring of 1747. During the siege of Fort St. David Clive had obtained a commission in the army. At the time when fortune thus put it in his way to begin his real work in the world he was twenty-one years of age.

The Nawab now definitely sided with the English, and confused fighting took place during the remainder of 1747.

**Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.** In addition to the reinforcements brought by Boscawen, others were obtained from Bombay, and in August 1748 the English felt themselves

strong enough to undertake the siege of Pondicherry itself. They failed, however, to take it, and shortly afterwards there arrived the news of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In accordance with the treaty, Dupleix, much against his will, was obliged to restore Madras to the English, and the war for the moment came to an end. Its general effect had undoubtedly been to raise the prestige of France and to depress that of England in the eyes of the natives.

During the few months in which Clive had served in the army he had filled only a subordinate position. Even so, he had on more than one occasion showed  
**Robert Clive.** that he was possessed of exceptional courage, and before long circumstances were to arise which would give his talents of leadership full scope. Perhaps the most characteristic example of his hardihood is furnished by the following incident: Soon after arriving at Fort St. David he lost some money at cards to another officer. He accused his opponent of cheating, and refused to pay. A duel with pistols followed. Clive fired first, and missed his antagonist. The latter advanced and held his pistol to Clive's head, demanding that he should ask for his life

and withdraw the accusation of cheating. Clive consented to ask for his life, but as to the cheating he exclaimed, "Fire, and be d——d. I said you cheated; I say so still, and I will never pay you." The other threw down the pistol and walked away.

The events which immediately followed the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle gave Dupleix an opportunity of realising his great scheme for the conquest of Southern India. In 1748-9 the deaths took place of the Nizam of the Deccan and of his vassal the Nawab of the Carnatic. In each province there was a disputed succession, and the rival candidates appealed to the French and the English respectively for assistance. Dupleix threw himself eagerly into the contest. He despatched the celebrated Marquis de Bussy, a most gifted soldier, to the Deccan. The French candidate was successfully established there, and the province became a French dependency from which Dupleix might hope to extend his system indefinitely when once the English in the Carnatic had been disposed of.

For a time the chances of the survival of English power seemed very small. The French candidate for the throne of the Carnatic, Chunda Sahib, was a brave soldier who ably seconded the efforts of his allies. The claimant favoured by the English, Mohammed Ali, lost ground continually, and was finally blockaded in Trichinopoly, the sole town remaining to him. Dupleix was now at the height of his power. He assumed the style of a conqueror and absolute ruler. The princes who owed their thrones to him granted him large revenues and did nothing without his advice. His continued successes filled the native mind with admiration for the French and a corresponding contempt for the English. The latter were now so reduced that they scarcely dared to stir beyond the walls of Madras and Fort St. David.

Such was the state of affairs at the opening of the year 1751. The French only needed to take Trichinopoly to complete the conquest of the Carnatic in the interest of

Chunda Sahib. To understand what followed it is essential to fix in the mind the salient features of the map of Importance of this part of India, and the positions of the Trichinopoly. following important towns: Madras, Pondicherry and Fort St. David upon the coast; Arcot, the native capital of the Carnatic, lying inland 70 miles west of Madras, and Trichinopoly, far to the south-west, 100 miles from Pondicherry and nearly twice that distance from Madras. It will be seen that Trichinopoly, the critical point, in which the English candidate was beleaguered, was very difficult to relieve from Madras, because the road to it passed close to Pondicherry, and the strongholds of the country were all in French hands. Arcot, on the other hand, was within striking distance of Madras.

Clive had been to Trichinopoly with a small reinforcement, and on his return to Madras convinced the authorities Clive's that some energetic step must be taken to save opportunity. the place. Relief by a direct advance was impracticable, but Clive proposed a plan which ultimately solved the problem. Taking all the available troops in Madras, he proposed to make a surprise attack on Arcot, trusting that Chunda Sahib would immediately draw off from the siege of Trichinopoly in order to save his capital.

Mr. Saunders, the Governor of Madras, consented. On August 26th, 1751, Clive led out from the town a force of 200 Englishmen and 300 sepoys with eight officers, of whom four, like Clive, had been transferred to the army from the civil service of the Company. The garrisons left to guard Madras and Fort St. David numbered less than 150 men. After a five days' march Clive reached Arcot, whose native defenders, seized with panic, fled without striking a blow. But it was the retention, not the capture, of the place which was to test the heroism of Clive and his little band. As he had calculated, Chunda Sahib detached 4000 men from the siege of Trichinopoly and sent them under his son Rajah Sahib, to retake Arcot. By continual fighting Clive's force was soon reduced to 320 men, and these were

beleaguered by an army which ultimately numbered 10,000. For fifty days the siege continued. At length, on November 14th, Rajah Sahib determined to storm the place. For over an hour his best troops continued to assault the exhausted defenders at several different points. All his attempts failed, and he drew off with the loss of 400 men. On the following night he found his troops so discouraged that he abandoned the siege and marched away from the capital which his greatest efforts could not take. Clive's defence of Arcot entirely altered the position of affairs in the Carnatic. The natives conceived a respect which they had never had before for the fighting powers of the English. A band of Mahrattas immediately came to join him, and by their aid he defeated another French-Indian force from Pondicherry. The fall of several strongholds held in the French interest followed, and before long the English were in a position to relieve Trichinopoly itself.

Early in 1752 a strong force set out from Madras under Major Lawrence, with Clive as his second-in-command. After many exciting combats, it was successful in relieving Trichinopoly and inflicting a crushing blow upon the policy of Dupleix. Not only was Mohammed Ali saved, but a number of French officers and men in the besieging force were captured. Chunda Sahib also fell into the hands of his native enemies, and was put to death without the knowledge of the English. It was at this crisis that Dupleix's lack of military training had been fatal to him. From his cabinet at Pondicherry he had sent urgent messages to Monsieur Law, his commander at Trichinopoly, to storm the place before the arrival of the English. Law was sluggish and incompetent, and Dupleix was not, like Clive, the man to set the example by mounting the breach, sword in hand. Thus Trichinopoly became for him an irretrievable disaster.

When the news arrived in France it was determined to recall him. Both Companies were weary of fighting,

which extinguished their trading profits. A treaty of peace was therefore signed in Europe, and in 1754 Dupleix's successor arrived at Pondicherry with orders to send him home by the first ship sailing for France. It cannot be denied that the French home authorities were most short-sighted in neglecting to support their brilliant governor in the East. Within two years of Dupleix's recall the rivals were again at war, but this time the odds were heavily in favour of England, and the result was the total ruin of French prospects in India. If Dupleix had remained at Pondicherry the outcome might have been very different.

Hitherto, as we have seen, the struggle for supremacy had been confined to Southern India. During the Seven Years' War the rich province of Bengal was also involved, and English rule became paramount in this region while at the same time the remnants of French power were being extinguished in the Carnatic.

It will be convenient first to consider the events in Bengal. A crisis was precipitated in that province by the death of the reigning Nawab, a firm and just prince under whose rule the English factory at Fort William (Calcutta) had enjoyed great prosperity. His successor was a weak and vicious youth named Suraj-u-Dowlah. The new Nawab conceived a violent hatred for the English, and in 1756 made a sudden attack upon Calcutta. The English garrison and residents at that place had not been inured to warfare like those in the Carnatic. They behaved badly, and many fled in panic to the shipping in the river, by which they made their escape. The Nawab easily possessed himself of the town, in which he took prisoner 146 English who had not been able to get away. After summoning the prisoners before him, he promised them their lives, and retired to rest. His guards thrust them into a small prison for the night. Packed into a tiny space in the hottest season of the year, and deprived of ventilation and water, the majority of the wretched captives died

raving in this horrible den before morning brought release to the survivors. Only twenty-two men and one woman came out alive. This is known in history as the outrage of the Black Hole of Calcutta. The Nawab expressed no regret for what had occurred, and made no attempt to punish the murderers. Fancying that he had disposed of the English for all time, he retired to his capital of Murshedabad, and gave no more thought to the affair.<sup>1</sup>

In due time the news arrived at Madras. It was at once determined to send an expedition to recover Calcutta and avenge the murders. Clive had just returned from a two years' visit to England, and was naturally selected to command the force. He was instructed to do his work as rapidly as possible, because it was known that war had broken out again between England and France, and the Madras authorities wanted all their troops for defence against an expected French attack.

On October 16th, 1756, Clive sailed from Madras, his army being conveyed by the fleet of Admiral Watson. He had with him 900 English soldiers and Clive recovers 1,500 sepoys. With these troops he proceeded Calcutta. to the invasion of a country more populous than France. Arriving in the Hugli in December he advanced on Calcutta. The town was taken with slight resistance on January 2nd, 1757. The Nawab now professed himself desirous of peace, and Clive, knowing that if his absence were prolonged the French might take Madras, attempted to negotiate an enduring treaty by which the situation in Bengal should be restored to its former peaceful state. Some months of tedious haggling followed. The Nawab was not really in earnest in his wish for peace. He merely wished to gain time for the French to come to his aid. While waiting for a decision, Clive and Watson attacked and took the French factory of Chandernagore, above Calcutta, on the Hugli. At length, despairing of a genuine settlement, Clive entered into a secret arrangement

<sup>1</sup> His ignorance of his real situation may be gauged from the fact that he believed there were not 10,000 men in the whole of Europe.

with Mir Jaffier, the general of the Nawab's army. It was agreed that on a resumption of hostilities Mir Jaffier was to betray his master and receive the throne of Bengal from English hands as his reward.

When all was ready, Clive marched forward with his little army, now numbering about 3,000 men. Suraj-u-Battle of Dowlah's host, estimated at 50,000, was encountered at Plassey, 1757. Plassey, 1757. The odds were so great that Clive for the moment hesitated. He called a council of war, which advised retreat. He then passed an hour in solitary thought, and returned with his mind made up. He gave orders for battle on the following day. The Battle of Plassey (June 23rd, 1757), opened with a cannonade in which considerable execution was done upon the crowded masses of the Nawab's army. Noting their confusion, at the critical moment Clive gave the order to advance. At the sight of his compact regiments charging down upon them, the enemy were seized with panic. They fled in wild disorder, the Nawab on a swift camel at their head. While the issue was yet in doubt, Mir Jaffier and his friends held aloof. After the victory they came to offer their congratulations to the English.

Mir Jaffier was led to Murshedabad and duly installed as Nawab. The miserable Suraj-u-Dowlah was captured a few days later and put to death by the new Conquest of Bengal. ruler's officers. A most favourable treaty was concluded for the restoration of the Company's position in Bengal, and it was now hoped that the English forces might return to the Carnatic, where their presence was urgently needed. But it was soon evident that Mir Jaffier's throne could not hope to stand without English support. The East India Company's officers had practically conquered Bengal, and they must remain to administer their conquest. Clive, indeed, detached as many men as he could spare to return to Madras, and he also sent Colonel Forde into the Northern Circars, the coast province lying between Bengal and the Carnatic, to uproot French in-

fluence in that region; but he himself was obliged to remain at Mir Jaffier's right hand. His position was soon regularised by his appointment as Governor of the Company's possessions in Bengal. While holding this office he repulsed an invasion attempted by Shah Alam, the son of the Mogul of Delhi, with a mixed force of military adventurers. He also defeated a Dutch armament which tried to force its way up the Hugli to Chinsura, the Dutch factory on that river. Chinsura was captured and deprived of its military defences. Thenceforward the English were supreme throughout the province. Clive was liberally rewarded by Mir Jaffier for his services. He returned to England in 1760.

While Clive was engaged in Bengal, decisive events were taking place in the Carnatic. On the outbreak of the war the French Government began preparations for an expedition intended to destroy the English power in Southern India. The commander appointed was the Comte de Lally, the son of an Irish gentleman who had fought for James II. and had passed the remainder of his days in exile after the ruin of the Stuart cause. Many circumstances combined to delay the expedition, which did not leave the shores of France until the summer of 1757. The passage to India occupied nearly twelve months more. It was not until April 28th, 1758, that Lally arrived off the English settlement of Fort St. David. His keen eye noted signs of confusion in the place, and he determined to lay siege to it immediately. Pushing on to Pondicherry, he disembarked on the same day, hurried ashore without listening to the address of welcome prepared by the Governor and Council, and ordered all the troops he could find to march at once on Fort St. David. Nothing was ready for a campaign; there were no provisions, transport or supplies of money. But Lally's tempestuous energy overcame all obstacles, and Fort St. David, reckoned to be the strongest place in India, surrendered a month after his arrival.

Lally in the  
Carnatic:  
capture of  
Fort St.  
David, 1758.



Lally's early proceedings afford the keynote to his character and his ultimate downfall. He was a brave and active soldier, but he was utterly devoid of tact or political ability. He despised all natives of India, and made no attempt to understand their prejudices. He was convinced before ever he landed that the Company's servants at Pondicherry were a set of dishonest rogues, and his subsequent experience of them confirmed that impression. He was soon on such terms with them that they rejoiced openly when the English defeated him. He had made up his mind that Dupleix's policy of native alliances was a false one, and he determined that the English must be conquered by the force of French arms alone. To that end he recalled Bussy from the Deccan, and thus abandoned the only remaining fragment of the edifice which Dupleix had built up. A fiery leader in the storm of battle, and a strict disciplinarian, Lally might have made a great name in the wars of Europe. It was his misfortune that in sending him to India his Government imposed upon him a task for which his character and understanding were wholly unfitted.

The capture of Fort St. David was Lally's only success. Already he began to feel the lack of money and munitions of war, a lack which was intensified by the ill-will of the officials at Pondicherry. He was, however, still superior in numbers to the English, and he decided to besiege Madras at the end of 1758. Everything went badly with this undertaking from the very first, and Lally, by his angry recriminations, offended some of his best officers. At length the appearance of an English fleet rendered the siege hopeless, and he marched back to Pondicherry amid the open jeers of its inhabitants.

On receiving the news of Bussy's evacuation of the Deccan, Clive in Bengal had despatched Colonel Forde into the Northern Circars to conquer the French posts there. Forde defeated Conflans, the French commander, at Masulipatam in 1759, and the Circars then fell under English

control. The Nizam of the Deccan read the signs of the times correctly, and hastened to side with the winning party. His adhesion to the English alliance deprived the French of all influence outside the bounds of the Carnatic.

In that province a decisive struggle was now approaching. Clive had been sending from Bengal such reinforcements as he could spare, and the English army was now under the command of Sir Eyre Coote, an officer who had fought at Plassey. Battle of Wandewash, 1760.

In 1760 Lally attempted to take the offensive once more. His army encountered that of Coote at Wandewash, about equidistant from Pondicherry and Madras. There on a level plain the decisive battle was fought out. It was exceptional from the fact that native troops took little part on either side. Lally, exposing himself with reckless courage, was outmanœuvred by Coote. As a French historian remarks, he played the soldier too much and the general too little. Bussy, his ablest subordinate, was taken prisoner, and the French retreated in disorder to Pondicherry.

Coote methodically completed their destruction. He swept up their outlying garrisons, and then advanced relentlessly to the blockade of the famous stronghold. He attempted neither bombardment nor assault; he simply fortified his Surrender of Pondicherry, 1761.

lines around the doomed town and sat down to await the inevitable result. The English fleet cruised off the coast and cut off all succour by sea. Lally's last days within the town were days of torment. He raved and abused, blaming everyone, good or bad, for his misfortunes. The Company's servants openly mocked and derided him, and refused point-blank to obey his orders. His evil genius, a Jesuit priest named Lavour, to whom he confided his troubles, treacherously repeated his complaints to the persons concerned, and poisoned all minds against him. At length hunger and disunion did their work. On January 18th, 1761, Pondicherry surrendered, and Lally went as a prisoner to Madras.

The capture of Pondicherry was the last act in the Anglo-French struggle in India. The Treaty of Paris, English two years later, restored to France the towns power estab- she had held in 1749, including Pondicherry lished in India. and Chandernagore ; but they were to remain unfortified and were to be used as trading-posts only. The events of the Seven Years' War, on the other hand, had left the English virtual rulers of the Carnatic, the Circars and Bengal. The undefended French towns were thus surrounded by English territory, and in subsequent wars they fell into our hands on very easy terms. The policy of Dupleix was for ever at an end, or perhaps it would be more true to say that henceforth it was adopted by the English, and continuously applied until it resulted in the subjugation of the whole Indian peninsula.

The men who served France in these wars were badly treated by their country. La Bourdonnais, the captor of Madras in 1746, passed many years in the Bastille on his return. Dupleix was sent home to France in disgrace, his fortune was to a large extent confiscated, and a lengthy lawsuit brought him no redress. He died poor and forgotten in 1763, having lived long enough to see his dream of an eastern empire cast away by his successors. For Lally was reserved a yet more unjust fate. Whatever his faults, he had at least been brave and honest, yet his enemies pursued him unceasingly with charges of treachery, alleging that he had sold Pondicherry to England. He was convicted of treason, and beheaded in 1766. England rewarded her great men in similar fashion. Clive was driven to suicide by the accusations of men who hated him only because he had put down their own dishonesty with a firm hand. Warren Hastings, his successor, was nearly ruined by *doctrinaire* politicians who placed their theories of government above the practical safeguarding of the empire which the men of action had won.

## SUMMARY

1. India was not affected by the earlier wars of the eighteenth century.

2. Dupleix commenced a new era with his policy of gaining control of native states.

3. Both the French and the English Companies desired to continue a peaceful trade. Dupleix was unsupported from home.

4. A single disaster, that of Trichinopoly, was therefore sufficient to ensure his recall.

5. The English invaded and conquered Bengal against their own wishes, being compelled to do so by the misgovernment of the Nawab.

6. The French lost their hold upon India as the result of Lally's campaigns in the Carnatic. The decisive battle was that of Wandewash, won by Sir Eyre Coote.

## IMPORTANT DATES

1746. Capture of Madras by La Bourdonnais.

1748. Restoration of Madras by Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

1749-51. Successes of Dupleix in the Carnatic and the Deccan.

1751. Clive's defence of Arcot.

1752. French disaster at Trichinopoly.

1754. Recall of Dupleix.

1756. The Black Hole of Calcutta. Beginning of Seven Years' War.

1757. Battle of Plassey and conquest of Bengal.

1758. Lally invades the Carnatic.

1760. Battle of Wandewash.

1761. Fall of Pondicherry.

1763. Treaty of Paris.

## CHAPTER III

### THE DECISIVE STRUGGLE IN NORTH AMERICA

IN spite of the friendship between the Stuarts and Louis XIV. there was one part of the world in which French and English were fiercely at war before the Revolution of 1688. This was in Hudson's Bay.

Hostilities in Hudson's Bay, where the establishment by the English Company of a successful trade had greatly prejudiced the interests of the French in Canada. The forts on the shores of the Bay and those on the banks of the St. Lawrence were, it is true, separated by a wide tract of unsettled country. But the French had been in the habit of procuring furs from the Indian tribes to the north of Canada, and these tribes now found it more convenient to sell their wares to the English factors in the Hudson's Bay forts. Accordingly, the French were very indignant at the intrusion into what had hitherto been their monopoly. They refused to recognise the rights of the English Company, and laid claim to all lands, discovered or undiscovered, north of the St. Lawrence. From 1682 onwards French expeditions entered the Bay and seized some of the posts in it. Before the end of James II.'s reign they had taken seven ships and six factories belonging to the Company.

With the commencement of regular warfare against France in 1689, the struggle in Hudson's Bay was intensified. Severe fighting took place both by land and sea, and the general results were in favour of the French, who firmly established their position. While the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) was in process of negotiation, the important post known as Fort Nelson was captured by the French.

It was the most valuable trading station in the Bay, and the effect of the treaty was to leave it in French hands. In the other American possessions of the two countries, the war had produced no important effects.

The Hudson's Bay Company's hopes of regaining its lost ground were revived by the fresh outbreak of war in 1702. An attack on Fort Albany by a French force marching overland from Canada was beaten off with heavy loss, and the French found great difficulty in maintaining themselves in Fort Nelson and the other positions they had won. The reasons for the decline of the French in the Bay are to be looked for elsewhere. Their sea-power was being steadily extinguished by the growing supremacy of the English navy, and they found it more and more difficult to keep up communications with their distant colonies. The New Englanders also were taking an active share in the war. Their attacks upon Canada and Nova Scotia rendered it impossible to send French reinforcements to the North. The warfare between New England and Canada led to other important results. The New England frontiers suffered terribly from Indian raids instigated, and often led, by Canadians. In retaliation, expeditions were organised against the French colonies. In 1710 Port Royal in Nova Scotia fell into English hands, and the conquest of the province followed. In the next year a bold attempt to capture Quebec itself ended in failure. In Newfoundland also there had been confused fighting. Although all this American warfare produced no very decisive victories, the French defeats in Europe ensured substantial gains to England at the peace.

By the Treaty of Utrecht, France surrendered all claims to Hudson's Bay, which became thenceforward the private property of the English Company. She also resigned to England the island of Newfoundland, with the reservation of some fishing rights upon its coast; and the peninsula of Nova Scotia with a portion of the mainland adjoining.

War of the  
Spanish  
Succession.

English gains  
by the Treaty  
of Utrecht,  
1713.

The boundary of this region was undetermined, and remained a fruitful source of future disputes.

The surrender of Nova Scotia had not involved that of Cape Breton Island, which adjoins it. At Louisbourg on the eastern shore of this island the French proceeded to build a strong fortress which defended a good natural harbour. Louisbourg was of twofold value; it served as an outpost to Canada, defending the entrance to the St. Lawrence, and it was also a base from which naval attacks might be made upon Nova Scotia and New England. Therefore, when the War of the Austrian Succession afforded an opportunity, the New Englanders organised an expedition for its capture. In 1745 a force of colonial militia, 4,000 strong, appeared before the fortress, whose isolation was completed by an English fleet cruising off the coast. After a five weeks' siege the garrison surrendered, and the colonials returned home in triumph leaving the British flag flying over Louisbourg. They were bitterly disappointed when the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored their conquest to France in exchange for Madras.

The War of the Austrian Succession had arisen from purely European causes. Colonial disputes were not yet ripe for settlement, and therefore the war had no effect upon the positions of English and French in America. But no sooner had peace been signed than the American question began rapidly to develop. Ere long, an unofficial war broke out similar to that in India, and leading in process of time to the decisive contest known as the Seven Years' War.

It had long been realised by far-seeing men that British and French ambitions in North America were incompatible with one another, and that the claims of one nation must inevitably give way before those of its opponent. The reasons for this lay in the fact that the French claimed the whole basin of the Mississippi and its tributaries by right of discovery. They had already planted the colony of Louis-

French and  
British  
claims in  
conflict.

iana at its mouth, and their Canadian outposts on the great lakes extended to the neighbourhood of its head

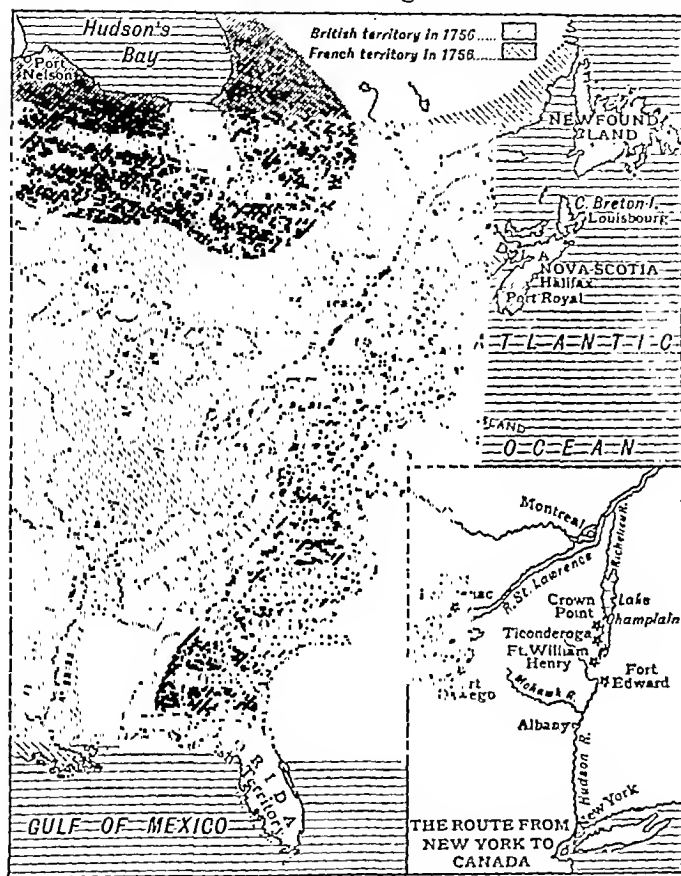


FIG. 8.—THE FRANCO-BRITISH STRUGGLE FOR NORTH AMERICA.

waters and those of the Ohio. The English colonies on the other hand asserted their right to extend westwards right across the continent to the Pacific shore if need were. When the Austrian Succession War came to an



end their pioneers were already crossing the Alleghany Mountains and entering the valley of the Ohio. The Governor of Canada determined to expel the English from this region at any cost. Canada itself was sparsely populated, and had no surplus colonists to send into the Ohio basin. A military occupation was therefore decided upon in order to exclude the English until such time as Frenchmen should be found to take up the vacant lands. Fortified posts were established on the Mississippi and the Ohio. Of these, the nearest to the English border was Fort Duquesne on the latter river, soon destined to be the scene of sanguinary fighting. In dealing with the Indians the French had an advantage. They wished only to hunt and trade and purchase skins from the red men, while they were able to point out that the English settlers, in order to cultivate the land, invariably cut down the forests and drove away the game.

While events were thus presaging trouble in the West, determined efforts were being made to undermine British rule in Nova Scotia. The inhabitants were almost exclusively of French stock and, being Catholics, owed spiritual allegiance to the Bishop of Quebec. French agents and priests were unceasing in their efforts to stir up discontent. They were so far successful that by 1755 the country was in a state of revolt, and bloodshed was of daily occurrence. When a new war with France was seen to be inevitable, it was decided to deport *en masse* the disaffected population. Eight thousand Nova Scotians were distributed among the older colonies, and their places were taken by British settlers. The establishment of the town of Halifax dates from this period.

In the Ohio valley the aggressive claims of the French were not allowed to pass unchallenged. In 1753 and 1754 the colony of Virginia, urged on by its able Governor, Dinwiddie, despatched small forces into the disputed area. In each case they were driven back by superior numbers of French and

Indians. It was in command of these expeditions that George Washington gained his first experience of warfare.

The weak ministry which now governed England was at last awakened to the importance of the proceedings in America. Early in 1755 General Braddock Braddock's was despatched with two British regiments defeat, 1755.

to Virginia. With these as a nucleus he hoped to raise a strong colonial force and drive the French from the Ohio. But with few exceptions the colonial leaders were narrow and selfish in their views. Each colony feared to be saddled with an unfair share of the expenses, and so great were their mutual jealousies that concerted action was impossible. Only in New England was there any strong military spirit, and New England was remote from the western theatre of war. At length, Braddock set out on his march from Virginia to the attack of Fort Duquesne. He had to traverse rugged hilly country and dense forests. The Indians were almost all in sympathy with the French. By their means Braddock's approach was observed, and his force fell into an ambush within a few miles of its destination. The fight that ensued resembled some of those between British and Boers in South Africa. Braddock's regulars advanced in the close, well-disciplined array, which was the only method of fighting known to them. The French woodsmen and their Indian allies remained scattered and invisible behind trees and ridges. From all sides they poured in a destructive rifle fire to which the volleys of the regulars, who saw no solid target to aim at, were an ineffective reply. Braddock himself, three-fourths of his officers, and more than half of his men, were struck down before the survivors quitted the field. The disorganised fugitives streaming back to Virginia were but the precursors of a savage horde of Indians who fell upon the thinly populated frontier districts, and committed horrible atrocities upon the defenceless settlers.

Before entering upon a description of the campaigns of the Seven Years' War, which may be said to have opened

with this fatal day at Fort Duquesne, it will be convenient to survey the positions of the opposing nations and their resources for the contest. The French hold settlements upon Canada depended upon the maintenance of a strong series of fortresses stretching from Louisbourg at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, to Quebec at the point where the estuary narrows to a river, Montreal 150 miles higher up than Quebec, Fort Frontenac where the river flows out of Lake Ontario, Fort Niagara commanding the isthmus between Lakes Ontario and Erie, and finally Fort Duquesne on the Ohio, which formed the extreme right of the French line. From Lake Ontario to the sea, the Canadian frontier marched with those of New York and New England. Between the settled regions on either side was a wooded watershed inhabited by the Five Nations. Through this difficult country there was one passage to the neighbourhood of Montreal practicable for armies. It was formed by the long and narrow Lake Champlain, from whose northern end flowed the Richelieu River to the St. Lawrence. A similar waterway to Lake Ontario was provided by the Mohawk River, a tributary of the Hudson. This led to Fort Oswego, the sole English station on the lakes. The approach to Canada by Lake Champlain was defended by the French fort of Ticonderoga. Near the southern end of the lake were the English Forts Edward and William Henry, intended to stop an invasion of New York by the same route.

In military force the French were everywhere superior at the opening of the struggle. Every Canadian hunter prided himself on being a more efficient fighter than the regular soldiers, and of the latter large reinforcements had arrived from France at the time of Braddock's defeat. The absolute authority exercised by the Governor of Canada was also more suited to successful warfare than the divided counsels of the rival English states. But two factors were destined to tell terribly against the French. When the war had once been declared, the superiority of the British fleets interrupted

communications with France and prevented the sending of reinforcements; and in population the British colonies immeasurably outweighed the French. It was reckoned that there were at this period more than 1,000,000 British and less than 80,000 French in North America. Even if the French had gained the most decisive military successes this fact alone renders it improbable that they would have permanently conquered the British colonies.

The war itself may be divided into two periods: first, that from 1755 to 1757, in which the English were uniformly unsuccessful; and second, that from 1758 to 1760, in which they were victorious in all quarters. The change from defeat to victory was simultaneous with the transference of the control of the war from the Duke of Newcastle to William Pitt.

Early in 1756 Lord Loudon was despatched to New York as commander-in-chief, and at the same time the Marquis de Montcalm sailed for Canada in a similar Campaigns of capacity. Loudon was a timid and unenter- 1756 and 1757.prising general; during the two years in which he held his command Montcalm was able to outwit him at all points. The campaign of 1756 opened with the terrible onslaughts upon the middle and southern colonies which have already been described. Then Montcalm, immediately upon his arrival, attacked and took Oswego, the English fort on the shore of Lake Ontario. Loudon contented himself with preparations for an advance on Canada by the Lake Champlain route. Next year he abandoned this plan, and undertook instead the capture of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island. He conveyed all his available troops by sea to Halifax, the new naval base in Nova Scotia. At that place valuable time was wasted in uncertainty while attempts were being made to ascertain the strength of Louisbourg. Then at length news came which convinced Loudon that the place was too strong to be attacked. A council of war agreed with him, and the whole expedition sailed back to New York without striking a blow. Montcalm had taken advantage of his

absence from the Canada-New York frontier to capture Fort William Henry, and so to lay open the valley of the Hudson and New York itself to attack. A number of the unfortunate defenders of Fort William Henry were massacred by Montcalm's Indians after they had surrendered.

During this season of misfortune and mismanagement a change was taking place in England destined to alter

the whole aspect of the war. On June 29th, William Pitt.

1757, William Pitt was made Secretary of State, and assumed practical control of all the nation's affairs. He had been in office for a few months earlier in the year, but had been dismissed owing to the dislike of the King and the parliamentary influence of the Duke of Newcastle. But the nation was resolved that Pitt should be called to the head of affairs; it was fascinated by his honest and fearless character, and believed him implicitly when he said: "I know that I can save the country, and I know no other man can." George II. was convinced against his will, and Newcastle, recognising his own weakness, consented to an arrangement by which he should retain the management of parliament and the distribution of patronage, while his gifted rival controlled foreign policy and the war. As a contemporary observer remarked: "Mr Pitt does everything, and the Duke gives everything. So long as they agree in this partition they may do as they please." The joint ministry in fact endured for four years, until the crisis of the war had passed.

Pitt took office too late to influence the campaign of 1757, but he determined that things should be differently managed in the following year. He cast about for capable leaders, and when he found them he appointed them to commands without the least reference to wealth, seniority or political influence. When he judged a man worthy of confidence he trusted him entirely, and such a man was doubly strengthened by the knowledge that the minister would back him to the utmost of his power. Some of his new commanders were colonials of proved ability; two

were sent out from England—Amherst, who had been serving in Germany, and Wolfe, who had fought at Dettingen at the age of sixteen, had commanded a regiment at twenty-two, and was now at thirty to enter upon the two brilliant years which concluded his career.

Three main operations were planned for 1758. Amherst and Wolfe were to take Louisbourg; Abercrombie, who had served under Loudon, was to clear Lake Champlain of the French and advance upon Montreal; and Forbes was to lead yet another army out of Virginia to the assault of Fort Duquesne. Of these undertakings the first and the last were successful. Amherst and Wolfe, supported by Boscawen's fleet, triumphed over all difficulties, and took Louisbourg. The stronghold was much more formidable than it had been in 1745, and when it yielded 240 guns and nearly 6,000 men fell into English hands. Its fall opened the way for the advance of a fleet up the St. Lawrence and an attack upon Quebec by sea and land.

In the centre, Abercrombie's move was a disastrous failure. With a great force of regulars and colonists, conveyed in a thousand boats, he advanced up Lake Champlain. Montcalm in person awaited him at Ticonderoga. He had constructed an entrenchment and a stockade of logs on rising ground, the approach being guarded by an entanglement of pointed stakes and branches of trees. Abercrombie had no need to assault this position, for he was quite able to bombard or starve out the French. But he disembarked and attacked without even waiting for his guns. He sustained a bloody repulse. No valour could penetrate the intricate man-traps and entanglements; and after some of his regiments had lost half their numbers Abercrombie withdrew to the southern end of the lake, and the invasion of Canada was abandoned for that year. He was superseded by Amherst after the fall of Louisbourg.

On the Ohio, Brigadier Forbes at last succeeded where Braddock and Washington had failed. After making

careful preparations he advanced over the forest-clad hills late in the year. The woods seemed full of enemies, and his advanced guard was repulsed as Braddock's had been. But he pushed resolutely on without listening to timid counsels of retreat. The end was unexpectedly easy, for when at length the English arrived before the famous stronghold they found it a burnt and deserted ruin.<sup>1</sup> The French had abandoned the Ohio and retired to Canada.

The outposts of the French at either extremity of their long line had now fallen. It remained to strike the final blow at the heart of their colony, the basin of the St. Lawrence and the cities of Quebec and Montreal. In 1759, as in the previous year, the attack was to fall on three separate points. Wolfe, with a fleet and army from England, was to sail up the St. Lawrence and besiege Quebec; Amherst, taking Abercrombie's place, was to advance on Montreal by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu; and a third force was to take Fort Niagara and so cut off the enemy from the western lakes.

Wolfe arrived at Quebec in June, and realised that the French boasts of its impregnability were well founded. The city stood on a high promontory on the north bank of the river. On either side the shore was precipitous for several miles; and Montcalm, besides the garrison of the city, had a field army entrenched for six miles along the river bank, its flank guarded by the tributary Montmorency. For several weeks Wolfe wrestled with the toughest problem that ever confronted a British general. He established batteries on the southern bank, and bombarded the city. He was repulsed in a desperate attempt to storm the earthworks at the mouth of the Montmorency. Finally he resolved to attempt an escalade by night of the Heights of Abraham, the cliffs on the west of the town. Marching part of his army several miles up the southern bank, he contrived to puzzle Montcalm as to his intentions. Then, embarking in a flotilla of boats, he dropped

<sup>1</sup> It was re-named Pittsburg.

down stream in the dead of night, scaled a narrow path from the shore to the heights, and stood with his army on the following morning on the Plains of Abraham. Montcalm, hearing the news, gallantly led out the garrison to repel the invaders. The struggle was short and decisive. Two terrible volleys and a bayonet charge drove the French headlong into the city, both generals falling mortally wounded as they led or their men. Four days later Quebec surrendered, and the French field army outside the walls, abandoning their entrenchments, retreated to Montreal.

While the capital of Canada was falling, a small British force took Fort Niagara, and Amherst made slow and painful progress towards Montreal. He was unable to reach it, however, before the approach of winter put an end to the campaign of 1759. Last

Montreal was now the last surviving stronghold of Canada, and all the remnants of the French armies were concentrated there. Its commander found that his troops greatly outnumbered the defenders of Quebec, and he made an attempt to recapture that town before the break-up of the ice should permit reinforcements to arrive from England. Advancing along the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, the French defeated Murray, the commander of Quebec, and began the siege. A time of suspense followed. The ice broke up at the beginning of May. All now depended on the nationality of the ships which should first come up the river. The approaching fleet proved to be British, and Quebec was saved. If a French squadron had arrived first the city would undoubtedly have been lost.

The last act of the great drama was now played. From three sides—from Quebec, from Lake Champlain and from Lake Ontario—converging armies closed in upon Montreal. De Vaudreuil, the Governor, had only his regular troops left, for the militia and the Indians had dispersed, realising that the game was up. Resistance being useless, a capitulation was signed on September 8th, 1760, by which the French flag disappeared from Canada. The whole of the French



territories in North America, with the exception of Louisiana, passed to Great Britain. Louisiana itself was transferred to Spain after the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

### SUMMARY AND DATES

1. The operations of the Hudson's Bay Company excited the enmity of the French before 1688. For a time the posts in the Bay were in danger, but the attack was ultimately repulsed.

2. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) confirmed England in the possession of Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.

3. The French determined to link up Canada and Louisiana by a chain of military posts on the Ohio and Mississippi, thus excluding the English colonies from expansion to the west.

4. Fighting began in the Ohio region and on the Nova Scotian border. It became general after Braddock's defeat in 1755.

5. The campaigns of 1756 and 1757 were unfavourable to England.

6. The accession of Pitt to power changed the face of affairs and inaugurated a period of English success.

7. Louisbourg and Fort Duquesne fell in 1758, Quebec in 1759 and Montreal in 1760. The English conquests were confirmed by the Treaty of Paris, 1763.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE LOSS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES, 1763-83 THE BOURBON REVENGE, 1778-83

THE victorious ending of the Seven Years' War seemed to have ensured for all time the incorporation of the whole of North America in the British Empire. Yet The twenty within twenty years of the signing of the years after Peace of Paris the oldest and richest part of 1763.

this great dominion was irrevocably severed from its allegiance, and became an independent nation under the name of the United States of America. The causes of this unlooked-for sequel to the Anglo-Saxon conquest of the continent have now to be examined. They lay partly in Europe and partly in America and may be grouped under three heads: (1) The latent spirit of disaffection always from their foundation existent in the New England colonies, and the irritation in all the colonies inspired by the working of the Mercantile System. (2) The new era in English government and politics introduced with the accession of George III. in 1760, and due to his personal influence. (3) The secret determination of France and Spain to be revenged for their humiliations in the Seven Years' War.

Turning to the first of these causes, it will be remembered that the New England colonies had been founded by men who, for the most part, had no desire to leave The New the mother country, and who laboured under England a sense of grievance in having been driven spirit. forth by religious persecution. They had created new homes across the Atlantic at the cost of great suffering and hardship, and they bequeathed to their descendants

a narrow, intolerant and pugnacious spirit which prepared them to resist stubbornly any interference with the rights of full self-government which they considered to be their due. Once already they had been ripe for revolt in the time of James II., and it was the timely expulsion of that monarch from the English throne which in all probability postponed the War of Independence for nearly a century. From that date until the accession of George III. New England was left to manage its own affairs, and the British Government was content with a lax enforcement of the trading laws which upheld the Mercantile System.

These laws—the famous Navigation Acts of the seventeenth century—still remained theoretically in full force; but in practice the customs officials winked at their infraction, and a huge volume of illicit trade sprang up between the American colonies and the West Indies, and even with European countries. The existence of this trade provided material for an acute quarrel whenever the home government should elect to enforce the laws more strictly.

The Middle and Southern Colonies had no historical grievance against Great Britain. They were prosperous and, unlike New England, easy-going in matters of religion. But if they had no hostile feeling to the mother country, they had also no strong sense of gratitude or enthusiasm in her behalf.

The governors she had sent to them had been sometimes good, more often indifferent, and some had been corrupt and tyrannical in the extreme. Yet it may safely be asserted that these colonies would never of their own initiative have revolted without the vigorous leadership of Massachusetts and her neighbours.

The events of the Seven Years' War itself had altered profoundly the position of the colonies, and had removed a menace which had hitherto given pause to dreams of separation amongst even the most advanced democrats of New England. So long as the military power of France had hovered restless

and ambitious on their northern and western frontiers the colonies could not hope to stand alone. That power was formidable enough, and to contemporary observers had seemed much more so than it really was. Now it had disappeared, and with it the chief obstacle to an independent Anglo-Saxon America had been removed.

The colonists themselves had shared in the triumph. They had fought side by side with British regulars, and their experiences had not been such as to strengthen altogether their respect for British power. They had seen much bad generalship and incompetence in the earlier stages of the struggle, and they realised that the disciplined European soldier was not at his best in primitive unsettled regions devoid of roads for the transport of his guns and stores. Braddock's disaster had been an object-lesson in the powers of the irregular rifleman when opposed to the close formations and cumbrous manœuvres of the time. Thus, while giving vent to superficial cordiality and fraternal rejoicings in victory, the American fighting man acquired an increased confidence in his prospects of success if ever he should be pitted against his kinsmen from home. The population of the colonies in the opening years of George III.'s reign was from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 millions, or a little less than a quarter of that of the mother country.

Such being the position of affairs in America, it is evident that a time had come when wise guidance was needed at the head of the British Government if the great empire was to be consolidated which Pitt's genius for victory had won. Yet the occasion found the man lacking, and the years succeeding the conquest saw British statesmanship at its worst. George III. mounted the throne in the autumn of 1760 as a young man with a fixed determination to "Be King" in fact as well as in name. He was of a type which has often met with disaster when seated on a throne, of obstinate will and feeble understanding, incapable of ruling yet resolute not to be ruled. He saw in such a minister as

British and  
Colonial  
methods of  
fighting.

George III.  
and British  
politics.

Pitt a natural enemy, and made it his first business to supplant him by the Marquis of Bute, a creature of his own. The King and Bute then made haste to conclude the war, Pitt's war, which they knew themselves to be incapable of conducting successfully. The easy terms granted to the Bourbon powers in the Treaty of Paris, and the numerous restorations of conquered territory, evoked a storm of disapproval from the nation. Bute lacked courage to face unpopularity, and disappeared from political life, leaving the King to pursue his plans alone.

George III. found the task of gathering the reins of power into his own hands a formidable one. For fifty years England had been governed by the Political confusion in great Whig party, whose leaders had absorbed all patronage and control of Parliament, while England. the first two Hanoverian sovereigns had taken little interest in the internal affairs of the nation. The Whigs, owing to long success, had now grown factious and disunited, and George, taught by the failure of his first experiment with a minister of his own choosing, began systematically to widen the rifts amongst them while at the same time building up a "King's Party" subservient to his own will. During the first ten years of the reign no less than six ministries were appointed and dismissed by the King. The Whig leaders were in turn discredited and deposed until in 1770 a "King's Minister," Lord North, was once more in power, backed this time by the parliamentary support which Bute had lacked. In such circumstances colonial affairs received less attention than they deserved. Successive ministers, absorbed in the struggle to maintain their positions, adopted measures irritating to the colonists, and were swept away without a chance of remedying their mistakes. In a word, there was no continuity of policy, and a great crisis sprang up before the country realised that trouble existed.

The first breach with America arose from the need for new taxation to meet the debt left over from the Seven Years' War. On the fall of Bute in 1763, George Gren-

ville took the lead of a Whig administration, acting at the same time as Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Arguing that the late war had been waged partly in the interests of the American colonists, he came to the conclusion that they ought to bear a share of the increased taxation it had rendered necessary. He therefore gave notice of his intention to impose a tax on certain legal documents and transactions in the colonies by enforcing the use of official paper bearing stamps of varying values. At the same time he reinforced the customs officials, and instructed them to put the Navigation Acts into strict operation to the suppression of the illicit colonial trade which has already been described. The colonists, having warning of the intended tax, were vigorous in their protests, and some of their spokesmen took up the position that the Home Government had no legal right to impose taxes in the colonies, other than the customs dues at the ports. The question was one upon which lawyers differed, but the fact remains that such an attempt had never been made before. Grenville, however, disregarded all protests. He shared some of the narrow-minded obstinacy of his sovereign, and was determined to carry out his scheme without regard to the indignation it aroused. The Stamp Act was passed in March, 1765, by an almost unanimous vote in the House of Commons.

It remained practically a dead letter in the colonies. In New England, Pennsylvania and New York riots took place, in face of which the officials were powerless. Nine of the thirteen colonies sent a formal protest to Parliament. The Assembly of Virginia declared the whole principle of taxation by the British Government to be legally invalid. Meanwhile the political struggle at home engrossed the entire attention of English statesmen with few exceptions. Prominent among the latter were Pitt and Edmund Burke, who sided with the colonists. But both were out of office and their warnings obtained no hearing.

Grenville:  
the Stamp  
Act, 1765.

Resistance to  
the Stamp  
Act.

Affairs remained at this stage when Grenville resigned owing to lack of support from the King. His place was taken by the Marquis of Rockingham, who was more inclined to conciliation. Burke was his secretary, and was thus more able to make his influence felt. The Stamp Act was therefore repealed in 1766 after a great speech by Pitt in favour of the colonists. Although the obnoxious tax was cancelled, the Government nevertheless passed a Declaratory Act asserting their right to impose taxes in the colonies. Benjamin Franklin, the colonial agent in England, was examined before Parliament, and gave it as his view that such taxes were illegal. The conflict of principle was thus left undetermined, and it was impossible to return to the old state of feeling before the passing of the fatal Act. The whole incident had led both parties to a formulation of views only vaguely entertained before, and had thus placed them in positions from which it was difficult to withdraw. Shortly after the repeal of the Stamp Act, the King dismissed the Rockingham ministry, which had held office for little more than a year.

Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, was the nominal head of the new administration. But he was no longer the man Pitt, now Earl he had been. Chronic illness was sapping his physical and mental powers, and his acceptance of a title alienated many of his former admirers in the country, by whom he had been revered as "the Great Commoner." His disease increased after his return to power, and during the whole period of his nominal Premiership he was so incapacitated that he was unable to transact business, and his colleagues followed their own courses without consulting him. The practical control of the Government fell first to Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a friend of Grenville's; and after his death to Lord North, whom the King introduced into the ministry in his stead.

In 1767 Townshend passed the American Import Duties Bill imposing increased dues upon tea and certain manu-

factured goods entering the colonies. Such a measure was in direct conflict with the views of Chatham, who had said, with reference to the Stamp Act, "In my opinion this kingdom has no right to lay a tax on the colonies . . . I rejoice that America has resisted." Massachusetts again headed the resistance of New England, and violent scenes were enacted in many of the seaports. Chatham, on temporarily recovering his health, strongly disapproved of what had been done in his name, and resigned, leaving the administration to be carried on by Grafton and North.

Grafton was willing to forgo the new taxes, but his colleague insisted on the retention of the tea duty. Grafton resigned in 1770, and Lord North then entered upon a term of office as Premier which was to endure for the next twelve years. It is at this point that George III.'s personal responsibility for our colonial policy becomes more strongly marked. Lord North was essentially the King's Minister, the product of the years of intrigue which had succeeded the fall of Bute. His policy was the King's policy, and he held office only on condition of rendering full obedience to his sovereign, for he relied for parliamentary support upon the party known as the "King's Friends" whose votes were bought by the distribution of royal patronage. From now onwards, therefore, George III. took charge of the American dispute. His failure may be summed up by saying that, while he determined on repression rather than conciliation, he took no steps to see that a proper armed force was on the spot to cope with the resistance his measures produced.

During these years of political confusion in England the spirit of the colonies had become more and more hostile. In 1763 the idea of separation had been entertained by only a few irresponsible dreamers. Now it was promoted, especially in Massachusetts, by an energetic body of practical politicians, bent upon exploiting every mistake

New duties  
upon tea and  
other goods.

Lord North  
and the King's  
personal rule.

Spread of  
desire for  
separation in  
the colonies.



of the Government to the increase of bitterness and bad feeling. Petty incidents multiplied from year to year which a little generosity and genuine desire for reconciliation would have rendered unimportant, but which, handled as they were, served only to raise the temper of the colonists to boiling point.

The climax followed upon an alteration of the trade laws which was by no means prejudicial to America. The East India Company was permitted to send tea direct to the colonies without paying duty in England. Such tea could consequently be sold at a lower price on reaching its destination. With strange wrongheadedness this was proclaimed as a fresh grievance. At no colonial port were the tea ships allowed to land their cargoes. At Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, the agitation went further. On December 16th, 1773, a mob, with the connivance of the chief men of the town, disguised themselves as Indians, boarded the ships, and threw the whole of the cargoes into the water.

When news of the outrage reached England the King's Government decided that the time for strong measures had arrived. Lord North introduced four Bills into Parliament, subsequently known as the "Intolerable Acts." The first declared the port of Boston to be closed to traffic, and removed its custom house to Salem. The second annulled the constitution of Massachusetts, depriving that colony of its rights of self-government. The third, the Transportation Act, laid down that British officers accused of murder might be transported to England for trial. This was intended to strengthen the hands of the military in dealing with mobs. The last, the Quebec Act, gave freedom of worship to Roman Catholics in Canada. Its significance lay in the fact that it offended the religious prejudices of New England and ensured the loyalty of the French Canadians in the struggle which was now inevitable. Although they could as yet have no great love for England,

they had more to fear from the dominance of their narrow-minded neighbours.

There is no doubt that the English nation as a whole approved these measures. Public opinion was densely ignorant as to the real state of affairs in Chatham's America, and Chatham's was almost the only protest voice raised in protest. He advised that the four Acts should be repealed and a representative assembly convoked in the colonies to discuss the question of taxation. But all chance of conciliation was now at an end, and his appeal was disregarded. It may be doubted whether his proposals would not have been too late even had they been adopted.

In the meanwhile all the important colonies took up the cause of Massachusetts. Measures were concerted for common resistance, and the first American Congress met at Philadelphia in 1774. Georgia was the only colony which sent no delegates. The Congress sent an address to the King, embodying the old claim of self-taxation and condemning the treatment of Massachusetts. Although it ended with a profession of loyalty it showed unmistakably that the colonists did not intend to give way. Moderate members like Washington still hoped for a peaceful solution, but Massachusetts was determined on war. The militia was called out, and arms and ammunition were collected.

When the crisis was becoming acute four British regiments had been sent to Boston under General Gage, and the first serious fighting accordingly took place between these troops and the inhabitants of Massachusetts. In April, 1775, Gage despatched part of his forces to destroy some military stores which the colonists were collecting at Concord. Although they accomplished their object, the British suffered heavy loss in engagements with the American militia both going from and returning to Boston. This opening conflict of the war is known as the Battle of Lexington. Thenceforward the British were not strong enough to venture

out of Boston, and contented themselves with holding that port in expectation of reinforcements.

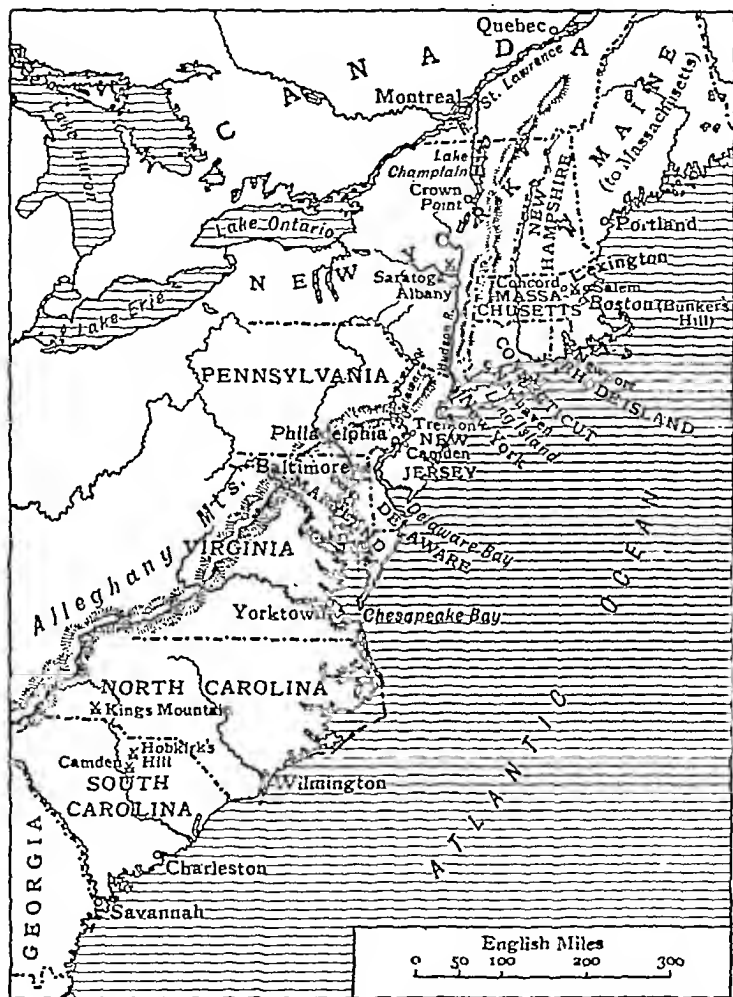


FIG. 9.—THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

Everything now depended upon the speed with which the opposing nations could bring new forces into the field

of action. New England was in complete revolt, and British rule in this region was entirely at an end except at Boston, still held by Gage's nucleus of regular troops. The Middle Colonies were so

far inactive; New York at least contained a majority of loyalists ready to support the British forces when they should arrive. The Southern Colonies, with the exception of Georgia, were everywhere preparing for rebellion. Virginia took the lead in raising troops, and Lord Dunmore, the last British Governor, was obliged to abandon the colony in the course of the summer. Generally speaking, it may be said that the loyalists, although everywhere numerous, were unwilling to act, while the revolutionaries, although often in a minority, were extremely energetic, and so were able to carry with them the vast mass of the waverers and indifferent. The same phenomena have been observed in most of the great revolutions in History.

While the opening military moves of the struggle were taking place a second American Congress assembled at Philadelphia. It rejected some belated proposals of conciliation despatched by Lord North, and sent a statement to the King, since called the Olive Branch Petition, offering in effect to return to the position of affairs in 1763. This, coming from subjects already in open rebellion, was naturally rejected. George III. was determined to be satisfied with nothing less than complete submission. While carrying on this hollow negotiation, Congress took steps to organise the various colonial militias into a national army. George Washington of Virginia was selected as its commander-in-chief, both on account of his character and military record and because his influence was likely to bring the Southern Colonies into line with the more forward elements in New England. Washington's acceptance of the command marked the conviction of the more responsible leaders that fighting was now the only course. He and his friends had been unwilling to take up arms so long as a chance remained of a peaceful settlement.

Second Congress, 1775:  
George Washington.

As late as 1774 he had disclaimed all desire for separation both on his own behalf and on that of "all thinking men in North America." The die was now irrevocably cast.

The deliberations of Congress did not cause any slackening in the active policy of the New England leaders. **Bunker's Hill**, The news of the fight at Lexington caused 1775.

large numbers of recruits to join the state militias, and a force was soon collected with which it was thought feasible to begin operations against Boston. Sir William Howe arrived in that port in May with reinforcements bringing the British strength up to 10,000 men. The town itself stood on a peninsula, the isthmus of which was well guarded by the garrison. But it was partially overlooked by Bunker's Hill, an eminence occupying another peninsula to the north. The American leaders sent a force to seize this hill, from which they would have been able to cause considerable annoyance to the town. Howe shipped about a quarter of his garrison across the bay to drive the enemy off the hill, and the first stand-up fight of the war ensued. Two British attacks were driven off with heavy loss. The third was more successful. The Americans were running short of ammunition, and were forced to withdraw. They retreated to the mainland in good order, having inflicted greater losses than they had themselves suffered. The British remained masters of the position, but the moral victory lay with their foes, who had shown much greater fighting power than had been anticipated.

Another American venture of the latter part of 1775 ended in complete failure. Soon after Lexington a small American colonial force had been able to surprise the invasion of forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point on Canada, 1775. Lake Champlain. The military importance of the route from New York to Canada formed by the Hudson Valley, Lake Champlain, and the River Richelieu has already been explained in a previous chapter. Having secured the forts upon the lake the Americans decided to use them as the starting-point for an invasion of Canada,

in the hope of overwhelming the small local forces in that colony.

The main body started from Ticonderoga under General Montgomery, a former British officer who had now taken the American side. A smaller force under General Arnold of New York advanced at the same time by a forest track to co-operate with Montgomery. General Carleton, the British Governor of Canada, took active steps to meet the invasion. He evacuated Montreal and concentrated his troops at Quebec, a town which the English knew by hard experience was a difficult one to attack. The American armies arrived before Quebec much reduced by sickness and desertion, and by the necessity of leaving detachments behind to guard their communications. An attack was nevertheless made, and was completely beaten off. Montgomery was killed. Arnold hovered in the neighbourhood until the following summer, when he withdrew on the arrival of a British fleet in the St. Lawrence. This failure decided the fate of Canada. Thenceforward the Americans had no hope of detaching it from the Empire.

During the winter of 1775-6, Washington was hard at work organising his army. In the spring of the latter year he was able to advance to the attack of Boston. He pressed it so vigorously that Howe was obliged to evacuate the town, and withdrew his army on board a British fleet to Halifax. Howe's chief hope was now to secure New York and the Middle Colonies, where feeling was more favourable to England. In August the fleet transported him from Halifax to the new scene of operations, whither Washington had gone to await him. After severe fighting the American army was driven out of Long Island, which covered the approach to New York from the sea. A month later the British crossed to the mainland and occupied the city. Howe's success did not take him much further. He expelled Washington's forces from the neighbourhood of New York, but failed to capture

Canada pre-  
served to the  
Empire.

The British  
evacuate  
Boston and  
capture New  
York, 1776.

Philadelphia or clear the State of New Jersey, which with more energy he might possibly have accomplished.

During the summer of 1776 a third Congress sat at Philadelphia. It took a long delayed step which the

Third Congress:	course of events had now rendered inevitable.
Declaration of Independence, 1776.	On July 4 it issued the Declaration of Independence, by which the thirteen colonies formally threw off their allegiance and became the

United States of America. By so doing they renounced all chance of a peaceable settlement with the mother country, but secured the advantage of being able to negotiate alliances as a sovereign power. This soon became of practical importance. France, with a reconstructed navy and a more efficient administration, had already a watchful eye on the events in America, and in conjunction with Spain, the other Bourbon power, was certain to lose no opportunity of taking vengeance for the losses of the Seven Years' War. French and American diplomatists were ere long conferring on plans for joint action against Great Britain.

During the winter of 1776-7 Washington was hard put to it to keep his dispirited army together. He suffered from shortage of all military necessities, but his courage and patience triumphed over difficulties to which a meaner general would have succumbed. No important movements took place in 1777 until the summer was far advanced. At length in August, Howe took the offensive, defeated Washington in a pitched battle on the Brandywine River, and took Philadelphia, the capital of Pennsylvania.

While Howe was thus consolidating his hold on the Middle Colonies, a far-reaching plan was put into operation which, if it had succeeded, would have led to the suppression of the revolt before the Bourbon powers could intervene. General Burgoyne arrived with a strong British force in Canada. Thence, undeterred by the failure of the corresponding American attempt two years before, he set out to traverse the difficult

Lake Champlain and Hudson route, with the intention of isolating New England from Washington's aid, and so conquering in detail the most energetic of the disaffected states.

The passage of Lake Champlain was successfully effected. Ticonderoga was captured and the retreating Americans severely handled. Then the land march down the Valley of the Hudson was commenced. It brought nothing but disaster. The irregular American riflemen harassed the advance and cut off the flanking parties thrown out from the main body. Many of Burgoyne's troops were Hessian mercenaries, ignorant of the country and the language. They made an easy mark for men who knew every inch of the woods and could gain information from the inhabitants. Burgoyne struggled on until his communications were cut behind him and famine stared him in the face. A force which should have advanced from the south to support him failed to appear. At length he was obliged to surrender his whole army at Saratoga on October 16, 1777. His overthrow was largely due to the rapidity with which American armies seemed to grow out of nothing. At the outset his force appeared amply sufficient. But the news of his approach caused every able-bodied New Englander to leave his homestead and join the colours. When he surrendered it was to an army which many times out-numbered his own.

The Saratoga disaster was a serious one to Great Britain, but in a strictly military sense it was not irretrievable. Its paramount importance lay in its political results. Since the beginning of the revolt France had been giving sympathy and secret aid to the colonists, and was now contemplating an open alliance. The news of Burgoyne's surrender was decisive. It became known in Europe before the end of the year, and in February, 1778, the alliance was signed by which France became a party to the war. Spain had good reasons for following the French

Burgoyne's  
surrender at  
Saratoga,  
1777.

The Bourbon  
Powers sup-  
port America:  
beginning of  
the Maritime  
War, 1778-9.



lead, but hesitated to give open support to rebellious colonists for fear of the moral effects of their success in the vast Spanish dominions of Central and South America. At length these scruples were overcome, and the second Bourbon power joined the coalition against England in 1779. From the fact that no fighting took place on the mainland of Europe the struggle is known as the Maritime War. It proceeded in all parts of the globe concurrently with the War of Independence, and its events deprived Great Britain of all chance of subduing the colonies. To that extent the Bourbon revenge was successful. In practically all other respects it failed, and Britain emerged from the struggle relatively stronger than before.

The Franco-American alliance was soon in active operation. The Marquis de Lafayette took command of a French land force which co-operated with Washington, and a French fleet under the Comte d'Estaing sailed early in 1778 for the American coast. At the same time Sir William Howe was superseded by Sir Henry Clinton as the English commander-in-chief in the colonies. Clinton evacuated Philadelphia and retired to New York, which he made his headquarters during the remainder of the war. His policy was now to consolidate his position in the Middle Colonies and to strain every effort to restore British power in the south. No further serious attempts were made to reduce New England. In the South, particularly in Georgia, the loyalists were numerous, and for a time it seemed as if the revolt in that region might be suppressed. In 1778 the British took Savannah, the capital of Georgia, and held it against a determined attempt at its recapture. In the following year active operations were carried on by small detachments without decisive result, but in 1780 Clinton scored another great success by the capture of Charleston, the capital of South Carolina. He then returned to New York leaving Lord Cornwallis, his best subordinate, in command.

Lord Cornwallis carried on two hard-fought campaigns in the Carolinas in 1780 and 1781. Severe actions were fought against Lafayette and the American Cornwallis in generals, and on the whole the English made the south, good progress. Cornwallis faced great diffi- 1780-1. culties. His enemies when defeated scattered only to reform anew; and all points gained had to be held with garrisons from his field army, which was thus weakened by its own successes. Yet he was slowly but surely wearing down resistance. The American troops lost heart, became mutinous, and deserted, and Congress was hard pressed for money with which to pay and supply them.

The turning point came with unlooked-for suddenness. In the summer of 1781 Cornwallis marched northwards into Virginia to meet reinforcements which Cornwallis at Clinton was despatching from New York. Yorktown. He entrenched himself in a strong position at Yorktown between two estuaries opening into Chesapeake Bay. Washington saw his opportunity for a brilliant combination of the land and sea power of America and France, a combination which had never hitherto proved effective in this war. Concentrating all his available troops against the Yorktown position, he sent a despatch to the French admiral in the West Indies begging him to lead his fleet instantly to the blockade of the English by sea.

The Comte de Grasse, the French admiral, loyally complied. He sailed secretly and in full strength to the Chesapeake, taking with him a military force drawn Surrender of from the French West Indies. Washington Yorktown, also had skilfully concealed his movements 1781. so that the English might be left in doubt whether New York or Yorktown was the intended point of attack. The plan succeeded admirably. Sir Henry Clinton, fearing for New York, dared not support Cornwallis. De Grasse anchored in Chesapeake Bay, and the British garrison was besieged by land and sea. All now depended on the maintenance of the blockade. An inferior British fleet under Admiral Graves attacked De Grasse, was beaten off, and

retired to New York to refit. Cornwallis fought hard to break out by land, but his troops were outnumbered and suffering from want. An attack by the French and Americans destroyed his outlying defences, four hundred guns swept his camp, and he surrendered his whole army on October 19th, 1781, after a most gallant and honourable defence.

The surrender of Yorktown was the virtual end of the colonial war. All that had been gained in the south was The irrecoverably lost, and England had no re-importance of sources for beginning the struggle afresh. sea-power. And this decisive result affords an object-lesson in the importance of sea-power to the world-wide British Empire, for it could not have been attained without the intervention of the powerful French fleet. On this point a great American historian is emphatic. He says: "The alliance with France, and subsequently with Spain, brought to the Americans that which they above all needed—a sea-power to counterbalance that of England. Will it be too much for American pride to admit that, had France refused to contest the control of the sea with England, the latter would have been able to reduce the Atlantic seaboard? Let us not kick down the ladder by which we mounted, nor refuse to acknowledge what our fathers felt in their hour of trial."

The course of the Maritime War in other parts of the world was more comforting to Great Britain, although Strength of the Bourbon fleets. the combined fleets of France and Spain were superior in numbers to our own. Nor were they so deficient in equipment and training as they had been in the Seven Years' War. France in particular had taken to heart the lessons of that struggle. Her navy now contained ships of first-class design, manned by well-drilled crews and commanded by capable officers. Yet, although they did much better than ever before, the French were still at heart afraid of the formidable fighting powers of the British seamen. The action of De Grasse in blockading Yorktown was the one outstanding

exception to the general practice of the French admirals of shirking a decisive battle even when great advantages were in prospect. For this they were not entirely to blame, for the French Government constantly enjoined them not to risk their ships, and without risk a great success can seldom be won.

The Maritime War opened with a drawn battle off Cape Ushant in 1778, after which both fleets returned to port. Next year Spain joined in, and the united Bourbon navies appeared in the Channel. The war in European waters: siege of Gibraltar. An invasion of England seemed imminent, but the Spaniards as usual overwhelmed force. A terrible epidemic broke out among the crews, and the scheme came to nothing. At the same time Spain laid siege to Gibraltar,<sup>1</sup> and the Bourbon powers bound themselves to make no peace until the stronghold should be recovered by its former masters. Lord Rodney sailed early in 1780 to revictual the place, and found a Spanish fleet of eleven sail-of-the-line awaiting him off Cape St. Vincent. They attempted to escape on seeing that they had warships instead of supply-ships to deal with. But Rodney dashed at them, and in the course of a stormy night captured or destroyed seven of the eleven.

Rodney proved himself the most capable of the British admirals in this war. It was most unfortunate that he was not present on the American coast when Yorktown was besieged. He had at that time just returned to Europe after fighting indecisive actions with the French in the West Indies. After the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, Rodney was again sent to the West Indies, where the French were improving their success by capturing the English islands. Grenada, Dominica, and St. Christopher had already fallen, and an attack upon Jamaica was in prospect. After preliminary manœuvres, battle was fairly joined between Rodney and De Grasse on April 12th, 1782. It

<sup>1</sup> Captured by Sir George Rooke in 1704.

is remarkable for an innovation in tactics which led to great changes in sea fighting. Naval actions in the eighteenth century had tended to become indecisive because both fleets were content to sail past each other in a regular line ahead, keeping up a heavy cannonade, but rarely coming to close quarters. The present battle began in the same manner, but while the British line was defiling past the French, Rodney suddenly steered his flagship diagonally through the French line, and continued his course on the other side of it. The ships behind him imitated his manœuvre with the result that the French fleet was cut in two and the rearmost part overwhelmed by superior force. Five battleships were captured, De Grasse himself being among the prisoners. "Breaking the line" became subsequently a favourite manœuvre among English admirals, and accounted in after days for the crowning victory of Trafalgar.

The victory in the West Indies put a stop to the French successes in that quarter, where British power had been in danger of complete extinction. Nearer home the siege of Gibraltar continued. The fortress was again revictualled by an English fleet, and its assailants realised that they must carry it by storm or not at all. Preparations for a great bombardment were accordingly made, after which it was judged that the garrison would be able to make no resistance to the assaulting troops. Guns were placed in position on the isthmus connecting the Rock with the mainland of Spain. But the chief effect was expected from a number of floating batteries specially prepared for the occasion. They were hulks without rigging, carrying heavy guns and covered by fire- and shot-resisting roofs. When ready they were towed into position and the bombardment began. For a time the issue was doubtful. Then the red-hot shot from the fortress overcame the protection of the hulks. One after another they took fire or sank, and at the end of the day Gibraltar had once

Decisive  
victory in the  
West Indies,  
1782.

Gibraltar  
beats off its  
assailants,  
1782.

more proved itself impregnable. The siege was raised after enduring for three years. General Eliot, who commanded the defence, received a peerage and the well-deserved thanks of his country.

Two other events of the Maritime War deserve mention. The northern nations, Russia, Sweden and Denmark, annoyed at the frequency with which England searched and detained neutral shipping, formed a league known as the Armed Neutrality to safeguard their rights. This league did not actually come to blows with Great Britain, but its existence was a distinct threat. With Holland, on the other hand, for similar reasons, war was declared in 1780. Its only incident of importance was a stubborn fight near the Dogger Bank in the following year. Thus Britain, without an ally, was facing practically the whole maritime power of the world. It is not surprising that America was lost; the wonder is that the rest of the Empire did not go with it.

Although England was at bay, the Bourbon powers were exhausted. The failure at Gibraltar took the heart out of them. Lord North had resigned on the receipt of the news of Yorktown, and the consequent end of the King's personal direction of affairs left the way open for peace. The Independence of the United States was formally acknowledged in 1782, and reaffirmed in the general treaty signed at Versailles in the following year. By this treaty France and England mutually restored their conquests, thus returning to the position of 1763. England gave up Minorca and Florida to Spain, but retained Gibraltar, the most coveted prize of all. A separate treaty adjusted the dispute with Holland.

The British Empire had thus to acknowledge a serious loss, the whole circumstances of which make a page of history of painful reading. But the situation was honestly faced at length, and its lessons acted upon. The Empire was thereafter consolidated on sounder lines, the old ideas, which had largely outlived

American  
Independence  
acknowledged:  
Treaty of Ver-  
sailles, 1783.

Results of the  
war.

their utility, being thrown over in favour of a more enlightened colonial policy. The War of Independence may be considered as marking the end of the great days of the Mercantile System. What remained of it disappeared piece by piece until in the nineteenth century a generation arose which knew it no more. The publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in 1776, and the accession to power as Prime Minister in 1783 of the younger Pitt, whose ideas were moulded by Smith, did much to hasten the change.

### SUMMARY AND DATES

1. The Seven Years' War ended in 1763 with the expulsion of the French from North America.

2. At the same time a series of disputes arose with the inhabitants of the original English colonies. These disputes were due to the colonists' impatience of control, and the unsettled state of English politics, leading to the adoption of an unwise colonial policy. They were keenly watched by the Bourbon powers.

3. The spirit of discontent was most widespread in the New England colonies. The Middle and Southern colonies felt less keenly with regard to the subjects in dispute.

4. George III. took measures to ensure his personal ascendancy in the British Government. He must, therefore, be regarded as largely responsible for the unhappy ending of the quarrel.

5. The Stamp Act was passed in 1765 and repealed in 1766. Increased duties on tea and other goods were imposed in 1767.

6. The Boston Tea Outrage (1773) was the climax of a series of violent acts on the part of the colonists.

7. Retaliatory measures (the Intolerable Acts) by the British Government led the colonies to band together and begin the War of Independence.

8. The first period of the war (1775-7) is notable for the Battle of Bunker's Hill and the American invasion of Canada, 1775; the Declaration of Independence, 1776; and the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, 1777.

9. The second period opened with the alliance between America and the Bourbon powers, 1778-9. It practically closed with the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, 1781.

## SUMMARY

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10. The Maritime War between England and the Bourbon powers produced the siege of Gibraltar, 1779-82; the projected invasion of England, 1779; and Rodney's victory in the West Indies, 1782.
11. By the Treaty of Versailles, 1783, England acknowledged the Independence of the United States. France and Spain obtained no substantial advantages and were much exhausted by the struggle.



## CHAPTER V

### THE EXPANSION OF BRITISH INDIA, 1763-1805

THE loss which the British Empire suffered in the West by the War of Independence was counterbalanced by a great expansion of the dominions of the East India Company in the East. We have already traced the failure of the French plans to conquer India, and their expulsion from all but a few factories on the coast of the peninsula. The confused condition of native politics which had given the French their opportunity still continued, and was the cause of the extension of British rule in the period now to be considered. This increase of responsibility was not desired by the Company ; it took place against the wishes of English statesmen at home ; it was practically forced upon the Company's officials in India by the fact that the country had to be ruled by someone, and they alone were competent to undertake the task.

The affairs of Bengal, which first demand notice, illustrate this truth very forcibly. After the victory of Plassey, Disorders in Clive remained in Bengal to restore order and Bengal. re-establish the Company's trade. Mir Jaffier, whom he had placed upon the throne, ruled the country subject to English advice, and a dual system of government, half native, half English, was thus set up. Clive returned to England in 1760. After his departure serious troubles developed. The ill-paid servants of the Company regarded the province as a treasure-ground pure and simple. By every kind of injustice and extortion they brought their employers into disrepute, thinking only of enriching themselves. Mir Jaffier was deposed, and his son-in-law, Mir

Cossim, was made Nawab in his place. Mir Cossim, a man of pugnacious temperament, was soon goaded into revolt. He began by massacring the English agent and merchants at Patna, but was soon overthrown, and Mir Jaffier was once more placed on the throne. Mir Cossim fled to Oudh, formed an alliance with the Vizier and with the Mogul at Delhi, and marched into Bengal at the head of a powerful force. But he and his friends were defeated at the Battle of Buxar, and the Mogul remained a prisoner in English hands.

In the meanwhile the Company was becoming seriously alarmed at the situation in Bengal, and the Directors requested Clive to go out once more to restore order in the province he had won. Although Treaty of Allahabad, 1765. personally unwilling to quit the life of ease to which his achievements had entitled him, he felt that duty called, and so gave his consent. He arrived in Bengal in 1765 in time to deal with the results of the victory at Buxar. By the Treaty of Allahabad the Mogul, as nominal overlord of all India, surrendered to the Company the practical control of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. The native Nawabs were retained as figure-heads without real power, and the native laws and courts of justice were also continued in operation.

Clive then proceeded to put down with a firm hand the unjust practices of the Company's officials. Both the unswerving severity raised Clive's career. His opposition. His unswerving severity raised Clive's career. Both from soldiers and civilians he met with great opposition. His unswerving severity raised Clive's career. Both up bitter enemies, who returned to England and tormented him with their accusations to the end of his life. He left India for the last time in 1767. The undeserved persecution by the men whose misconduct he had punished preyed upon his mind, and he committed suicide in 1774. In this manner England lost, at the opening of the American War, the one general who might perhaps have been able to put a successful end to that struggle. The series of wars and conquests which filled the middle years of the eighteenth century had entirely transformed

the position of the East India merchants. At the outset they were a purely trading company, desirous of nothing but peaceful commerce under the protection of the Regulating Act, 1773. The native rulers. Circumstances had now forced them to take over the task of governing large areas of territory, and it was felt that the whole British nation was responsible that this task should be properly carried out. For this reason, Lord North passed the Regulating Act of 1773. It promoted the Governor of Bengal to be Governor-General of all the Company's possessions in India, the Governors of Madras and Bombay being made subordinate to him. The Governor-General was to rule with the aid of a Council of Four, and his political acts were to be supervised by the British Government at home. A Supreme Court of Judicature was also set up at Calcutta to bring the Company's servants under the control of English law. Under this act Warren Hastings became the first Governor-General.

Hastings had served with credit as a civilian official during the period of the French wars. A year before the passing of the Act he had been appointed Governor of Bengal. From the outset the Regulating Act showed serious defects in working owing to (1) the undue limitation of the Governor-General's powers by the Council, and (2) the undefined authority of the Supreme Court. The Council was no doubt designed to assist the Governor-General, but in practice three of its four members were violently hostile to him, and as he had only a single vote in its deliberations he usually found his measures vetoed by the majority. In spite of this Hastings was able to do much to improve the condition of Bengal. He curbed the rapacity of the native tax-collectors, put down oppression by the Company's traders, and set up a native court at Calcutta for the protection of the humbler classes in the country. A bold attempt to ruin him by means of forged documents led to the execution of a wealthy native named Nuncomar, whose death was afterwards

Warren  
Hastings,  
First  
Governor-  
General.

made the subject of serious charges against Hastings. The Council sympathised with Nuncomar, and relations became so strained that the Governor-General fought a duel with Philip Francis, his principal opponent. The duel was turned to good account; Francis fired and missed, Hastings took cool aim and inflicted a severe wound. On his recovery, Francis left the country, and the Council was thenceforward purged of the Governor-General's bitterest enemy.

The alliance of France with the American colonists produced a great crisis in British affairs in India. As soon as it became known that the French had declared war, Pondicherry and the other French stations restored at the Treaty of Paris were attacked and taken. But the real danger was to be feared from two native powers, the Mahrattas and the strong state of Mysore, backed, as they certainly would be, by French support. The Mahrattas were a warlike race whose military power made them supreme in Western and Central India. They were led by three great chieftains, Holkar, Sindhia and Bhonsla,<sup>1</sup> who all owned a nominal allegiance to the Peshwa, or chief minister at Poona. They had no settled boundaries, and disturbed the country by constant raids and levying tribute on their weaker neighbours. Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore, was an able Mohammedan soldier who had usurped the throne of the Hindu rajahs of the state. He took offence at the capture of the French settlements, which he considered as under his protection. At the same time the Bombay government was engaged in a dispute with the Mahrattas.

Effects of the  
Maritime  
War upon  
India.

Hastings realised that the situation was a serious one. He dealt first with the Mahrattas. Although his forces were small he struck hard, and imbued them with such respect for his power that they hesitated to co-operate with Hyder Ali. The latter proved the more formidable enemy. In 1780 he over-ran the Carnatic with a huge army, burning and

War with the  
Mahrattas and  
Hyder Ali.

<sup>1</sup> These names were dynastio and were borne by successive members of the same family.

slaying up to the very gates of Madras. The Madras government was weak in resources and incompetent. Hastings collected every available man and placed in supreme command Sir Eyre Coote, the conqueror of Lally in 1760. In 1781 Coote defeated Hyder Ali at Porto Novo and saved Madras. The arrival of the French Admiral Suffren with a powerful fleet and a body of French troops again endangered the Carnatic. Suffren fought seven pitched battles with the English squadron, the result in each case being practically a draw. The death of Hyder Ali in 1782, and the Peace of Versailles in 1783 put an end to the struggle for the time being, but neither Mysore nor the Mahrattas had been conquered. Both were destined to give trouble to Hastings' successors. Indecisive though the result was, it was extremely creditable to the Governor-General. He had to rely entirely on his own resources, receiving neither men nor money from England. He saved our empire in India in circumstances to which lesser men, such as those who commanded in America, would have succumbed.

Hastings might now justly expect to be rewarded by a grateful country, but he was soon to be undeceived. Opinion in Lord North's government fell when Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown. The opposition came into power, and had party ends to serve by an attack upon the administration of the East India Company. Francis and others were vehement in their charges against the Governor-General. They won over Fox and Burke to their cause, and all these elements combined to raise an increasing clamour for the trial of Hastings for his alleged offences. He left India in 1785 and was impeached before the House of Lords on his arrival in England.

His principal accuser was Edmund Burke. No one will deny that Burke was an honest man; but he was one of those who, having taken up a certain view, can never be convinced by any evidence that they are in the wrong. He had no personal knowledge of India, and he was persuaded by

Hastings' enemies that the most frightful oppression had been systematically carried on throughout the whole of the Governor-General's tenure of office. If Hastings had oppressed anyone he had oppressed the oppressors, the native princes who wrung vast sums from their miserable subjects. In some cases he had obliged them to disgorge, and by so doing had saved British rule when he was obtaining no supplies from home. To the common man his rule had been an unmixed benefit. Yet Burke declared that he had "wasted the country, destroyed the landed interests, cruelly harassed the peasants, burned their houses, seized their crops, tortured and degraded their persons, and destroyed the honour of the whole female race of that country"; in short that his acts were "the damned and damnable proceedings of a judge in hell; and such a judge was Warren Hastings." In the end common sense prevailed, Burke's half-crazy rhetoric failed of its effect, and the trial ended in an acquittal after enduring for seven years. Hastings died at a great age in 1818.

Shortly before the close of Hastings' Governor-Generalship, the younger William Pitt became Prime Minister. It was generally realised that the Regulating Pitt's India Act of 1773, under which Hastings held office, Act, 1784 was in need of amendment on account of the difficulties which it imposed on efficient government. Pitt therefore passed his East India Act of 1784 which, with slight modifications, remained in force until the middle of the nineteenth century. By this Act a Secretary of State was appointed to deal with Indian affairs, assisted by a Board of Control. To this new department of government was given entire supervision of the military and political sections of the Company's policy. The Governor-General was to be appointed by the ministry in power in England, which also secured the right of vetoing the Company's choice of important officials. The effect of the Act was to restrict the Company's power to purely commercial matters, the Secretary of State for India being responsible, with the Governor-General, for the general policy of British India

towards native and foreign powers. The Governor-General himself became the servant of the Empire rather than of the Company.

The Governor-Generalship, thus enhanced in prestige, became a position attractive to men of the highest rank and ability in England. The first holder of the office under the new conditions was Lord Cornwallis, 1786-93. Cornwallis, the general who had done the best service in the American War prior to his disaster at Yorktown. He arrived in India in 1786, and continued the administrative reforms upon which Hastings had been engaged before the wars diverted his energies elsewhere. His name is identified with the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, a series of improvements in the police and revenue-collecting system of the country which did much to render impossible a recurrence of the scramble for wealth of the early days of British rule. Henceforward the natives were secured from oppression, living under their own system of laws impartially administered by British judges. The Permanent Settlement was honest in intention, and on the whole worked well, although, like every far-reaching change, it brought hardship in individual cases.

Although British statesmen heartily disliked the idea of further territorial conquests in India, and clauses forbidding such a policy had been inserted in the Act of 1784, Cornwallis nevertheless found himself forced into war with the restless state of Mysore. Its ruler was now Tippoo Sultan, the son of Hyder Ali. He commanded a native army much more formidable than that of any neighbouring prince, and his ambition threatened the weaker states around him. In 1789 he invaded Travancore, to whose rajah the Madras government had promised assistance. Cornwallis made up his mind to redeem the pledge. He made alliances with the Mahrattas and the Nizam of the Deccan, neither of whom, however, did service of any value. Owing to his reliance upon them, Cornwallis was at first unsuccessful, but Tippoo was at last forced to submit and to surrender

one-third of his dominions. He refused to take his defeat as final, and another war some years later was necessary for his complete overthrow.

Cornwallis sailed for England in 1793. For the next five years Sir John Shore held office as Governor-General. His policy was one of non-intervention, and Sir John his rule was barren of important events. The Shore, 1793-8. increasing power and unruliness of the Mahrattas during this period gave plain indications of future trouble, but Shore left it to his successors to deal with the problem.

India received as its next ruler a man of greater talents and personal magnificence than any other who has filled that office. Lord Mornington, better known Wellesley, as the Marquis Wellesley, was recognised at 1798-1805. the time of his appointment as one likely to do great things if his abilities were given the necessary sphere of action. In English political life he had failed to find such a sphere. A friend remarked to him: "You want a wider field; you are dying of cramp." The judgment of those who selected him was to be fully vindicated by the events of his rule.

He arrived in India in 1798, at a time when the clouds of war were threatening once more to burst upon British power. The devouring energy of revolution-ary France had already penetrated to the East. Napoleon Bonaparte had conquered Egypt and was dreaming of a great Asiatic dominion which, expanding by land, should drive the British out of Asia in despite of their command of the sea. Alexander the Great had led his Greeks victoriously to India, and Napoleon, an eager student of the campaigns of the past, did not doubt that he and his Frenchmen could do as much. French agents were busily working in advance at the courts of Tippoo Sultan and the Nizam. Tippoo saw his opportunity for revenge upon the English. He welcomed the French, styled himself "Citizen Tippoo," and prepared for war.

Effects of the  
French  
Revolution  
upon India.



At this distance of time the risk of a French conquest of the East by land may seem fanciful, but Wellesley did not regard it as such. He realised that the day of non-intervention in native affairs was over. Wellesley's vigorous policy. British power, in his opinion, must either crush the independent military states of the peninsula, or disappear for ever. He naturally chose the former alternative. He began first with the Nizam, a weak and vacillating ruler, offering him the choice of immediate fighting or submission. The Nizam was obliged to secure the possession of his territories by signing a treaty in which he undertook to disband his French-trained army and to receive and pay in its stead a force of sepoy's commanded by British officers. In return Wellesley promised to protect him from the aggressions of the Mahrattas. This was the first of a series of "subsidiary alliances" by which the native states preserved their internal self-government but were rendered incapable of harming the British power. It was in fact the system which Dupleix had begun so successfully fifty years before.

With Tippoo Sultan, a prince of a very different temper from the Nizam, there was little hope of a peaceful settlement. He was engaged in attempts to stir up the Mahrattas and other native powers against the British, and in negotiations with the French governor of Mauritius for armed support. He was also deeply interested in the presence of Bonaparte's army in Egypt and alive to the possible consequences of its success. Wellesley offered him the same choice as he had offered to the Nizam—abandonment of the French alliance, or war. And Tippoo had no hesitation in choosing to fight.

The campaign, in comparison with the former Mysore wars, was a short one. Within the space of one month the British troops entered Mysore, inflicted bloody defeats on Tippoo's army in the field, and laid siege to his capital, the walled city of Seringapatam. The artillery quickly battered a breach in the

defences, and on April 4, 1799, the storming party took the city by assault. When the walls were lost the struggle continued within until Tippoo was shot dead by a British soldier in the confused fighting in the streets. After his fall, the resistance of his country was at an end.

Wellesley made a politic and enduring settlement. The outlying territories of Mysore were annexed by the Company, a portion also being given to the Nizam. Settlement of The remainder was placed under the rule of Mysore. the ancient line of Hindu rajahs who had been supplanted by Hyder Ali many years before. The people as a whole were pleased with the restoration, and in a few years Mysore showed great progress and prosperity. In 1801 Arthur Wellesley, brother of the Governor-General, wrote: "The country is becoming a garden, where it is inhabited, and the inhabitants are returning fast to those parts which the last savage had forced them to quit. . . . Mysore is become a large and handsome native town, full of inhabitants; the whole country is settled and in perfect tranquillity."

The conquest of Mysore was followed by a period of peace during which Wellesley was able to turn his attention to the affairs of several native states. The Carnatic already more or less penetrated by British influence. The most important of these were Madras. the Carnatic and Oudh, each of which were in a condition demanding urgent reform. The Carnatic, since the disappearance of French power in 1761, had been governed by its Nawabs, who lived under British protection from outside interference, but subject to no control in internal affairs. The plan had proved a failure. The Nawabs were wretched rulers, under whom oppression was rampant. They were heavily in debt to moneylenders, both native and British, and had assigned large areas of country to these creditors as security for the debts. Wellesley determined that this must come to an end. After a full investigation the Nawab was compelled to sign a treaty

in 1801 by which he abdicated all but a nominal sovereignty. The Carnatic was thenceforward under the civil and military control of the government of Madras.

In Oudh a similar problem presented itself. The country was being strangled by a horde of unscrupulous adventurers, Settlement of the Nawab's army was an undisciplined Oudh. rabble, and the geographical position of Oudh rendered it a gateway through which the British provinces could be invaded from the north-west. Wellesley enforced upon the Nawab a like settlement to that of the Carnatic. Unauthorised Europeans were expelled, the frontier regions of the Doab and Rohilkhand were handed over to the Company, and the Nawab gave guarantees for the good government of the remainder under British supervision. The smaller states of Tanjore and Surat also transferred their practical control to the British during the same period.

For the completion of Wellesley's task the Mahrattas alone remained to be dealt with. The great robber confederacy was now past its prime, although still a formidable military power. Its chiefs were fighting amongst themselves, and so gave an opening for British interference. In 1802 the Peshwa was defeated by Holkar, and fled to British protection. On the last day of the year he signed the Treaty of Bassein, by which he entered into a subsidiary alliance, receiving a force of the Company's troops and agreeing to be guided by its policy.

The immediate consequence was that Sindhia and Bhonsla joined to make war upon the British, rightly judging that the treaty with the Peshwa was The Mahratta War: Assaye but the first step to the curbing of their own War: Assaye and Argaum, independence. General Wellesley (afterwards 1803.

the victor of Waterloo) led a British force into the Deccan to oppose them. He was a younger brother of the Governor-General, and had already distinguished himself in the conquest and settlement of Mysore. He met the Mahrattas at Assaye on September

23, 1803. In spite of the fact that the odds were ten to one, and that the foe had French officers and powerful artillery, Wellesley attacked immediately and gained a

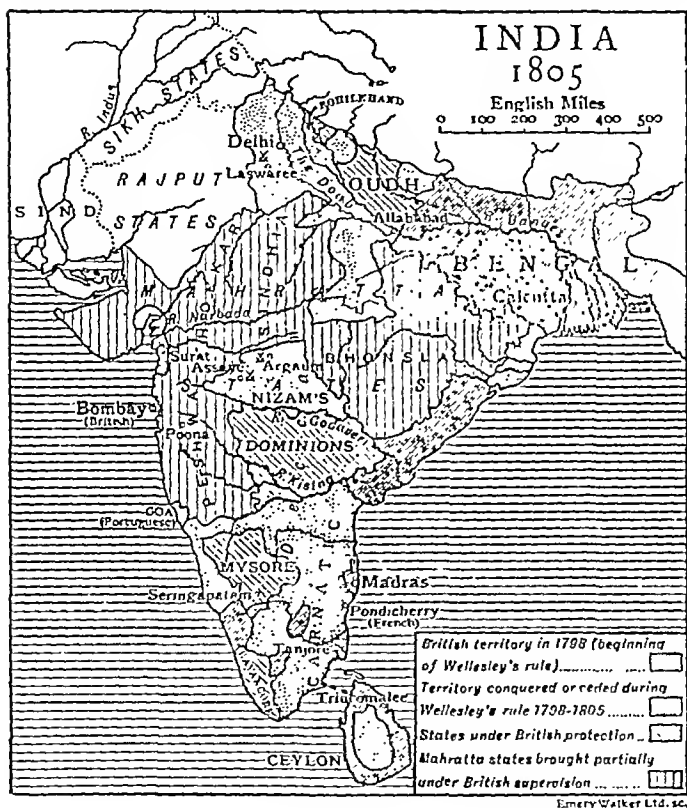


FIG.10.

decisive victory. Two months later he again defeated Bhonsla at Argaum and forced him to surrender certain territories and accept a subsidiary alliance.

Meanwhile General Lake had been dealing in similar fashion with Sindhia's forces in the north. He captured

Delhi after a fierce battle outside its walls, and released the blind and aged Mogul who had been for long years a puppet-prisoner of the Mahratta chief. Sind-  
 Delhi and Laswaree, hia gathered all his forces for a final contest  
 1803. at Laswaree (Oct. 31, 1803). He was defeated with great slaughter, and followed Bhonsla's example in making submission to the all-conquering Governor-General. He surrendered the large tract of territory known as the Upper Doab, contiguous with that given up by the Nawab of Oudh, and entered also into a subsidiary alliance.

Holkar, the remaining powerful chieftain, was in full sympathy with the defeated party, although his troops had not fought at Assaye or Laswaree.  
 Indecisive war with Holkar, 1804-5. Scarcely had Wellesley begun to congratulate himself on the solid pacification of all India, than Holkar showed unmistakable signs that he meant to make a last attempt to revive the Mahratta power. Negotiations were attempted, but failed, and war broke out in 1804. Its events were not so favourable to British prestige as were those of 1803. A considerable British force under Colonel Monson was defeated and made a disorderly retreat. The disaster was retrieved by subsequent successes, and Holkar came near to submission as complete as that of Bhonsla and Sindhia. He was saved by the termination of Wellesley's Governor-Generalship. As with all our great leaders in the East in the eighteenth century, Wellesley's policy was misunderstood and mistrusted at home. A series of disputes with the Directors culminated with the bad impression produced by Monson's defeat, and Wellesley relinquished his post in the summer of 1805. His successor hastened to conclude peace with Holkar on very easy terms. The final solution of the Mahratta problem was thus deferred until 1818.

Although Wellesley left India with his work unfinished, he had nevertheless achieved a brilliant record in his short tenure of office. He found our Indian possessions

still limited by the purely commercial traditions of earlier years, and threatened by powerful native sovereigns always ready to league with our European enemies. He left them secure in every aspect, the French expelled, and native military power suppressed. And he had produced an entire revolution in the British conception of the future of India. Henceforward there could be no going back to timid mercantile views bounded only by considerations of the Company's dividends. Wellesley found the foundation stones of our Indian Empire already laid; he showed to future generations the kind of edifice they were to erect upon them.

### SUMMARY AND DATES

1. Territorial expansion in India was due to the force of circumstances; it was desired neither by the British Government nor by the East India Company.

2. Bengal was the scene of disgraceful misgovernment and oppression during the years following the conquest, 1760-5. Clive returned to India for the last time (1765-7), and restored order with a firm hand.

3. The Treaty of Allahabad, 1765, gave the Company administrative control over Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

4. The Company was now the ruler of extensive territories. Lord North passed the Regulating Act of 1773 for the purpose (1) of providing a central government, and (2) of bringing it to some extent under home control.

5. Warren Hastings was the first Governor-General, 1774-85. He ruled efficiently in spite of opposition, and effected improvements in the condition of his territories. His dealings with native princes laid him open to charges of oppression in the main unfounded. He saved India for the Empire during the Maritime War of 1778-83.

6. Pitt's India Act, 1784, established a minister for India in the British cabinet, increased the importance of the Governor-General, and removed military and political affairs from the Company's control.

7. The rule of Lord Cornwallis, 1786-93, was marked by the permanent settlement of Bengal and a renewed war with Mysore.

8. The Marquis Wellesley, 1798-1805, consolidated British power in India. He conquered Mysore, 1799; annexed the Carnatic, Tanjore, Surat and the greater part of Ondh, 1801; and subdued the Mahratta chiefs, with the exception of Holkar, 1803-5. His policy of subsidiary alliances allowed the native states internal self-government whilst abolishing their military power.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE REVOLUTIONARY AND NAPOLEONIC WARS, 1793-1815

WE have already seen that the loss of the American Colonies was in part due to the operation of the Mercantile System, a convenient name for the policy which had governed our oversea dominions and commerce from the days of their foundation. Under this policy colonies had been regarded solely with reference to their usefulness to the Mother Country, and little account had been taken of the welfare of the colonists from any other standpoint. Similarly, trade had been regulated with a view to increasing to the greatest extent the revenue and maritime power of the nation. The Mercantile System received a severe shock from the unfavourable outcome of the American revolt. A new school of thought arose which declared all regulation of trade to be harmful, and laid down as its guiding principle that full liberty to "buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest" was the ideal to be aimed at. At the same time a period of apathy with regard to imperial expansion set in. An idea became prevalent that colonies were bound, as by a natural law, to separate from their parent as soon as they were strong enough to stand alone, and that consequently they were scarcely worthy of a high place in considerations of national policy.

Changes in  
economic and  
colonial  
policy.

The new ideas were by no means universally accepted, and time has proved that in part, at least, they were unsound. The old commercial system gave ground steadily



to the principles of free trade until by the middle of the nineteenth century it had entirely disappeared. The accompanying view as to the destiny of colonies was a mere counsel of despair, and the history of later generations has abundantly shown that great imperial dominions may be at the same time free and loyal ; that their loyalty, in fact, is in direct proportion to their freedom.

The growth of free trade principles was stimulated by a far-reaching change which took place in English life in the latter half of the eighteenth century. A series of mechanical inventions, beginning with Watt's improvement of the steam engine in 1769, transformed the manufacturing system. Power-driven machinery supplanted the old domestic handicraft in all the important branches of manufacture. Population increased and became more thickly grouped in the coal producing regions of the midlands and the north, hitherto the backward portions of the country. Great industrial cities sprang up. Canals were dug and roads were improved for the quicker transport of goods. The hard-and-fast rules of the Mercantile System did not harmonise with this great expansion of energy in entirely new directions, and hence arose the view that industry must be left alone by government, that trade must be free and unregulated.

From the foregoing, it will be understood that a new period had begun in British history, and that imperial development was likely to be prejudiced by some of the new colonial and economic theories. If the Mercantile System had resulted in a selfish treatment of colonies, that selfishness had at least been practised in the cause of national aggrandisement. The free traders of the Industrial Revolution bade fair to be equally selfish in the cause of their own individual fortunes. "Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest" was scarcely a battle-cry to inspire great imperial pioneers and statesmen. But the Empire was not destined to be left in

Imperial  
depression  
only  
temporary.

Imperial  
development  
modified by  
the next  
great war.

peace to work out the solution of its internal problems. Within ten years of the treaty with America a fresh world-crisis arose which plunged all civilised nations into incessant wars for the space of a quarter of a century ; and the stern nature of the struggle, which was to prove once again that Britain lives by sea-power and sea-power alone, did much to revive the pride in the Empire which the loss of America had endangered.

During the eighteenth century, France had waged a series of wars by land and sea. These had been extremely expensive and in the main unsuccessful. The French Revolution, The result was that the Bourbon monarchy was fatally weakened to a point which rendered it 1789. incapable of withstanding any extraordinary strain which might be put upon it. The danger to the country was scarcely understood by Louis XVI. and his ministers. They committed themselves to a series of desultory and half-hearted reforms culminating with the summoning of the States-General in 1789 to consider the desperate state of the finances. The meeting of the States-General was the signal for the bursting of the flood-gates of discontent. In the space of three years all feudal privileges were abolished ; the property of the Church was confiscated ; the royal family was shorn of its dignity, detected in an attempt to quit the country, and thenceforward kept in close confinement ; chateaux were burnt and their owners chased over the frontiers ; and finally the fall of the monarchy was consummated, and France was declared a Republic.

So matters stood in the autumn of 1792. The events in France were viewed in England at first with benevolent interest, but latterly with uneasiness as their true character became apparent. Britain involved in the first had judged the matter rightly and the war, 1793. predicted a disastrous issue. Austria and Prussia took up arms in 1792, and invaded France with the object of restoring the imprisoned Louis XVI. The result was to goad France to madness and throw the direction of affairs into the hands of the extremists. A frightful massacre

of imprisoned royalists took place in the jails of Paris. The republican Convention then proceeded to pass decrees declaring all kings to be their enemies and all revolting peoples their friends. The death of Louis was resolved upon. After a savagely contested trial he was guillotined on January 21, 1793. England immediately dismissed the French Ambassador, and on February 1st France declared war upon this country and Holland. Thus by the irony of fate William Pitt, whose ambition it was to be the minister of peace and reform, found himself committed to the conduct of the greatest struggle English history had yet produced.

England's share of the war was at first mainly carried on upon the sea. The Navy was in far better condition than it had been at the opening of the *Maritime War of 1778*. The rival navies. Lord Howe and Lord Hood, both veterans of that struggle, were the senior admirals. The former took the chief command in the Channel, the latter in the Mediterranean. Prominent among their subordinates were Sir John Jervis, Collingwood, and Nelson, at that time the captain of a line-of-battle ship. The French fleet on the other hand, although superior in ships and guns, was weakened by the undisciplined revolutionary spirit. Its old officers had been mostly of noble birth and had been displaced by new men, appointed in many cases for political reasons and sadly ignorant of their profession. Thus from the first the British fleets took the initiative, cruising freely at sea while their enemies lurked in the shelter of fortifications. A bold, offensive spirit permeated our Navy. Officers and men were always confident of victory if only they could force a fight on equal terms.

The first important move took place in the Mediterranean. In the summer of 1793, the royalist faction in Toulon Hood and Bonaparte at revolted against the Republic, tore down the tricolour flag, and invited the assistance of the British and Spanish fleets. Lord Hood entered the port and took possession of the French men-of-war fitting out in the dockyard. A republican army immediately

besieged Toulon. Against its attack, in which Napoleon Bonaparte laid the foundations of his military reputation, the defenders were unable to make headway. Bonaparte planted his guns so as to sweep the harbour, which Hood was obliged to evacuate to save his fleet. After destroying some of the French ships he put to sea, taking with him as many royalist refugees as he had room for. The remainder were butchered by the victorious republicans on their entry into the town.

In the following year Hood went home, his place being taken by Hotham. The latter fought an action with the French in the Gulf of Genoa, in which he captured two ships. Nelson, who was present, was much disgusted at the cautious conduct of his superior, who seemed quite satisfied with his achievement. "Had we taken ten sail," he said "and allowed the eleventh to escape, when it had been possible to have got her, I would never have called it well done." Such a spirit, in a man already marked for command, augured well for the future. In 1796 Spain changed sides, and entered into an alliance with France. The English were thus completely outnumbered and obliged for the time being to abandon the Mediterranean.

At the opening of the war, Lord Howe put to sea with the Channel fleet. The French were also at sea, but avoided an action owing to the state of confusion among their crews. The Committee of Public Safety, which now directed the fighting forces of France, realised that republican ideals, however praiseworthy in politics, were subversive of discipline in the fleet. They restored a semblance of order by dismissing or executing many of the best officers, and promoting inexperienced subordinates in their places. Thus reorganised, the French fleet was ordered to sea in 1794 under the command of Villaret-Joyeuse, previously one of its junior captains.

Lord Howe was attempting to blockade Brest when the French slipped out under cover of a fog, and evaded

him. He at once cruised in search of them, and after much ineffective skirmishing brought them to action on The First of June 1st, 1794. In numbers the opponents June, 1794. were equal—twenty-five ships of the line in each fleet. Howe attacked without securing any advantage of position, and a ship to ship fight ensued in which British discipline and seamanship secured the victory. Six French battleships were taken, and one, the *Vengeur*, went down with her crew raising shouts of “Vive la République” and singing the Marseillaise. The oft-repeated story that they refused to be rescued from the water is, however, untrue. If Nelson had been in Howe’s place the whole French fleet would most likely have been wiped out. As it was, the veteran was content to have won the first pitched battle of the war, and Villaret-Joyeuse, with many boasts and excuses, retired to port to refit. The campaign of 1795 brought several minor reverses to the French, whose government then decided to look for allies before resuming the contest at sea.

Spain, as we have seen, joined France in 1796. Holland, in spite of British and Austrian assistance, was completely Spain and overrun in the land campaigns of 1794-5. Holland. The Dutch fleet, fast in the ice by the Texel, was captured by a body of French hussars in January of the latter year. Considerable naval reinforcements were thus at the disposal of the Directory, which had now supplanted the extreme republican form of government in France.

The attention of the Directory was attracted to the rebellious condition of Ireland. The revolutionary gospel Failure of expedition against Ireland, 1796. found many hot-blooded adherents in that country. A revolt was imminent, and seemed to offer a favourable chance of overthrowing France’s most determined enemy. After much hesitation and many meetings with the rebel emissaries, an invading force was collected at Brest at the end of 1796. The army was of formidable strength. It was placed under Lazare Hoche, who shared with Bonaparte

the reputation of being the ablest general the revolution had produced. When the armament sailed, the English channel fleet was in harbour, while the Mediterranean squadron under Sir John Jervis was facing the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar. In spite of these favourable circumstances, the whole project was ruined by the winter storms. Part only of the ships reached the Irish coast, where the weather prevented a landing before they were again blown out to sea. Hoche with the main body never put in an appearance. Several ships were lost, and the survivors returned to Brest in confusion. Hoche died some months afterwards.

But the danger was only postponed. The maritime resources obtained by the success of the French armies on land had still to be faced, and the year 1797 was long known as "the darkest hour in English history." It opened, however, with a victory comparable with that of the first of June.

On February 14th, Sir John Jervis with fifteen sail-of-the-line, joined battle off Cape St. Vincent with twenty-five Spaniards. Following what was now Battle of becoming the standard English manœuvre, St. Vincent, he steered his fleet so as to break the enemy's line and fall upon one portion before the other could come to its assistance. The success of the plan was assured by the bold action of Nelson, who left his station without orders and engaged a group of Spanish ships which were trying to make their way into the critical portion of the fight. He boarded two Spanish battleships in succession and captured them after a brief struggle. Two more surrendered to other British officers, and the remainder, in spite of being still numerically superior, gave up the contest and retired.

While England was yet rejoicing over this victory against odds, a serious mutiny broke out in the Channel Fleet at Spithead. The sailors refused to put to sea, Mutinies in demanding an increase of pay and redress of the fleet. grievances, such as excessive flogging and other punishments. The officers were powerless, and concessions had

to be made before the men returned to their duty. Scarcely was this mutiny quelled than another, yet more determined, broke out among the ships of the North Sea squadron charged with the duty of watching the Dutch fleet at the Texel. The mutineers kept the ships in the estuary of the Thames and instituted a regular blockade of London, allowing no traffic to pass up or down the river. The more reckless spirits talked of handing the vessels over to the French if their demands were not satisfied. The patriotism of the majority could not stomach this proposal and, coupled with the active measures of the government, it led to a collapse of the mutiny. Richard Parker, the ringleader, a former midshipman who had been reduced for misconduct, was hanged with a few others, while many were imprisoned.

It was quite time for the North Sea squadron to return to its duty. The Dutch fleet, under the orders of the Battle of Directory, was preparing for a new expedition Camperdown. against Ireland with 20,000 soldiers. Admiral Duncan at length went to meet them. After blockading the Dutch coast throughout the summer and so securing the final postponement of the invasion, he brought the enemy to action off Camperdown on October 11th. A hard-fought battle, such as a meeting with the Dutch had always produced, resulted in a crushing victory. Of sixteen battleships nine were taken, and Britain was at last delivered from a serious menace.

The naval war has been described at some length, not because it led directly to a large expansion of the British Sea power and the Empire, but because, by preserving what had already been won, it acted as the keystone of the edifice raised by all the hard work of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Revolutionary France, imbued with a fiery energy which the Bourbon monarchy had altogether lacked, became all-powerful on the continent of Europe. It was only the excellence of the British navy which precluded a similar result upon the ocean. The great wars of the period 1793-1815 were

the culminating glory of the old Navy, laboriously perfected by three centuries of deliberate policy. Their victories may be regarded as the final fruits of the work of Henry VIII. and the other Tudor sovereigns.

Although the naval contest was primarily defensive, several useful acquisitions were nevertheless made during the period under review. The principal losers were Spain and Holland, the luckless allies of France. In the West Indies, St. Lucia was taken by Jervis in 1794. It was given up at the short-lived Peace of Amiens in 1802, and again taken, this time finally, in 1803. Tobago fell to the British flag in the same year. In 1797 the large island of Trinidad was taken from Spain, and next year the small settlement of British Honduras was also definitely acquired. On the mainland of South America—the “Spanish Main” of the Elizabethan adventurers—the Dutch colony of Guiana was captured in 1796.

In the East, and on the road thither, the Dutch were again the chief sufferers. The Cape of Good Hope was taken in the same year, also the island of Ceylon with its fine harbour of Trincomalee, which Suffren had made his base in his brilliant campaign of 1782. The Cape was restored at Amiens, but was retaken in 1806. Mauritius, so often the starting point of attacks on British India, was taken from the French in 1810. The consolidation of our Indian empire under the successors of Warren Hastings has already been described; it must not be forgotten that it was only rendered possible by the victories of the fleets in European waters. So also was the peaceful commencement of great colonies in Australia, which will be referred to in a later chapter.

The great struggle entered upon a new phase with the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte to a commanding position in French affairs. We have already seen him winning his spurs at the siege of Toulon. In 1796 he was placed at the head of the French “Army of Italy,” and by a series of astonishing victories brought



the Italian peninsula under the power of France. The politicians of the Directory grew somewhat afraid of their brilliant general, and determined to employ him on a distant enterprise where he would not be dangerous to their own tenure of power.

A powerful fleet and army were collected at Toulon. Napoleon was placed in chief command, and at the end of May, 1798, he set sail for Egypt, his mind filled with visions of Eastern conquest. The expedition to Egypt, 1798. Nelson, promoted rear-admiral after the battle of St. Vincent, was watching Toulon with a British squadron, but the French armament made its escape when his ships were scattered by a gale. The secret of the expedition had been well kept; nothing was certainly known as to its destination, although Nelson had already made a shrewd guess that Egypt might be its goal. He was hampered by the lack of swift cruisers, but at length received intelligence that the French were bound to the eastward, having taken Malta on their way.

Following hard on their track, he reached the Egyptian coast before the French had arrived. He returned later to find their fleet anchored in Aboukir Bay, Nile, 1798. and Napoleon's army already disembarked. It was a French theory that a fleet at anchor with the ends of its line protected by batteries on shore was unassailable. Nelson entered Aboukir Bay and proved the contrary. His battleships worked steadily along the French line, some outside it, some between it and the shore, crushing their opponents one after the other by terrible gunnery at close quarters. The French flagship *Orient* of 120 guns, the largest vessel of either fleet, took fire and blew up with the dead bodies of Admiral Brueys and most of his crew on board. She was one of those which Hood had failed to destroy on his evacuation of Toulon five years before. The net result of a night of battle was that thirteen ships were taken or destroyed, while four only escaped. Napoleon's communications with France were cut and his dreams of Eastern empire shattered in a moment. Al-

though he conquered Egypt, he was glad to escape to France next year in a light cruiser, leaving his army to its fate. In spite of the disaster, he found himself still a popular hero. He overthrew the Directory in 1799, making himself First Consul and subsequently Emperor of the French in its stead.

A prolonged naval war has usually brought about a conflict of opinion as to the rights of neutrals on the sea. The nations of northern Europe became seriously aggrieved at British claims to the right of search and the stoppage of their trade with France. The Armed Neutrality—the league of Russia, Sweden and Denmark—was revived, and on this occasion went to the length of declaring war upon Great Britain. The challenge was promptly accepted. In 1801 Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson as his second-in-command, entered the Baltic with a British fleet. In a desperate fight off Copenhagen, Nelson destroyed the Danish ships and fortifications. Denmark at once submitted, and the league collapsed without further fighting.

All Europe was now weary of bloodshed. Napoleon, indeed, had no thoughts of a permanent peace, but was desirous of gaining time to reorganise France before continuing the struggle with Britain. On our side there was a genuine desire for a settlement. Accordingly, the Treaty of Amiens was signed in May 1802. By it Great Britain made certain restorations, already mentioned, of colonial gains, and further undertook to give up Malta, which had been seized by Nelson's fleet after the French expedition had quitted it for Egypt. This clause of the treaty was still unfulfilled when the war recommenced, and Malta has remained in our hands ever since. As a naval base it was equal in value to Minorca, lost in the Maritime War of 1778.

The Peace of Amiens was soon recognised to be a hollow pretence; in May, 1803, war was once more declared. Its commencement found the naval forces of France scattered in various ports and unready for sea. The most

considerable squadrons were at Toulon and Brest. Napoleon now pressed forward his plans for the invasion of England.

Napoleon plans the invasion of England. He collected at Boulogne and the neighbouring harbours an immense flotilla of small armed craft and open boats, in which he proposed to transport an army of 100,000 men to the English coast. At first he reckoned that two days of fog or calm would permit of the crossing, the flotilla being rowed across while the British warships remained without means of movement. But experience soon showed that a week at least would be required to get the multitude of boats out of harbour, even when the army was embarked. Practice attempts invariably produced a heavy crop of accidents, and a plan had to be devised to secure a longer command of the Channel than the chances of the weather could be expected to provide.

Before any decisive action had been taken Spain was induced to declare war upon England, the Spanish fleet thus being added to the French. It was a wretched fighting force, and in the long run proved more of an embarrassment than an assistance to its allies. In its final form the

Manœuvres to secure command of the Channel.

great scheme worked out as follows. In January, 1805, Admiral Villeneuve put to sea with the Toulon squadron, with orders to proceed to the West Indies, capture as many British possessions as possible with the force of soldiers he conveyed, and then return to European waters after having drawn off a large British force in pursuit. Nelson was in command off Toulon. He conducted his blockade loosely of set purpose, his one desire being to tempt the French out so that he might destroy them. But he was under the impression that they would again strike at Egypt, and sailed at once in that direction when he heard that Villeneuve had come out. The latter's ships were, however, damaged by a storm and he was obliged to return to Toulon to refit. He got to sea again in March and this time made his way successfully to the West Indies, picking up a reinforcement of slow-sailing Spaniards in

his transit. Nelson now correctly guessed his intentions. He set off in hot pursuit, arriving in the West Indies in a much shorter time than Napoleon had thought possible.

Meanwhile a smaller French squadron had escaped from Rochefort with orders to join Villeneuve in the West Indies, but owing to the delay caused by The plan Villeneuve's false start from Toulon, the two miscarries. forces never met. The Rochefort fleet returned to France before that from Toulon arrived at the meeting-place. In Brest the largest of all the French fleets remained closely blockaded, and was never able to get out at all. Consequently, the project of uniting the entire navies of France and Spain in one imposing array in the Channel, while scattered British squadrons were groping in bewilderment for the clue to their whereabouts, remained unfulfilled.

Villeneuve was convinced that to meet Nelson was to meet disaster. He made little use of his chance to capture British islands, and sailed back to Nelson in Europe with Nelson close upon his heels. He pursued entered a Spanish port, received fresh instructions from Napoleon, and steered northwards on a forlorn attempt to raise the blockade of Brest and obtain the command of the Channel in spite of the miscarriage of part of the plan. But he was in a condition bordering on despair, a beaten man before ever he fought. On July 22, he was met by Sir Robert Calder off Cape Finisterre. The odds were twenty to fifteen against the British, but Calder captured two Spanish ships and Villeneuve retired southwards. He joined up with the remainder of the Spanish fleet, and finally took refuge in Cadiz. Such was the state of the French admiral's nerve that Collingwood was able with sublime impudence to blockade the whole force in Cadiz with only three ships of the line.

Napoleon was now reluctantly obliged to admit that the game was lost. Austria and Russia had allied themselves with England, and their armies had to The invasion be faced. At the end of August the French abandoned. Emperor broke up his camp at Boulogne and directed

his armies into Austria, where the victories of Ulm and Austerlitz provided some compensation for the failure of the project dearest to his heart.

Nelson made a short visit to England after his return from the West. In September he quitted Portsmouth Nelson off for the last time and joined the fleet before Cadiz. Cadiz. His one wish was that his enemies might come out, and he was careful to give them every opportunity of doing so. Villeneuve on his part dreaded the conflict, but the insults of Napoleon at length goaded him to action. He sailed from Cadiz with thirty-three French and Spanish battleships, steering for Gibraltar with the intention of passing into the Mediterranean.

Nelson dogged his every movement. On October 21, he judged that the time had come. In two lines of battle, Trafalgar, headed by Nelson and Collingwood, the British 1805. fleet bore down at right angles upon its straggling and disordered foe. Seeing its approach, Villeneuve went about in order to draw northwards to Cadiz in case of defeat. As the opposing forces closed, Nelson's *Victory* and Collingwood's *Royal Sovereign* bore the brunt of the fire from the allied line. Reserving their own fire, they pressed on. Collingwood's column was the first to crash through the French line, every ship on passing through turning and fastening upon a foe at close quarters. Somewhat later the *Victory* broke through at a point further to the north, the signals "England expects that every man will do his duty" and "Engage the enemy more closely" flying from her mast. By the double penetration of their line, the French and Spaniards were cut into three groups. The centre and rear were overwhelmed, while the van was unable to render assistance in time to save the day.

Hard fighting completed the victory which brilliant seamanship had prepared. Ship by ship the allied fleet was hammered into wreckage and struck its colours. The *Victory* was closely locked with the French *Redoubtable*, whose tops were crowded with marksmen. The latter

kept up a deadly fire on the *Victory's* decks, and one of their bullets struck down Nelson with a mortal wound. He was carried below and died three hours later. He lived long enough to know that the triumph was complete. Nine French and nine Spanish ships surrendered; fifteen escaped from the slaughter; some were taken a fortnight later, and the remainder were so damaged that they never again went to sea.

Although some of the prizes were lost in the storm which followed the battle, the result was sufficiently decisive. The naval power of Napoleon was crushed. Results of the war lasted nearly ten years longer, but victory.

Trafalgar was its last great action on the sea. Henceforward the French Emperor had to seek other means of ruining Great Britain. For the failure of the campaign he was more to blame than Villeneuve. He judged fleets on their paper values. To him a French ship was equal to an English ship of the same size. He made no allowance for the immense difference in skill and discipline which enabled the English to outsail and outfight their enemy at every turn. Villeneuve knew these things, but he was a weak man who lacked the courage to speak his mind to his imperious master. He knew he was going out to disaster, yet he went because Napoleon threatened to supersede him by another officer.

The direct blow at Britain having failed, Napoleon adopted the policy of striking at her commerce, the source of her wealth and her formidable sea-power. The His conquest of Prussia in 1806, and his victory Continental over Russia leading to the Treaty of Tilsit in System.

1807 gave him control over the seaports of Germany and the Baltic. In these years accordingly he issued a series of decrees at Berlin and Milan by which he declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, and forbade all traffic with them by any country which wished to remain a friend of France. In addition to the northern nations, Holland, Spain and the Italian states were obliged to accept this policy which, on account of its scope, is known

as the Continental System. The British Government replied by Orders in Council, having the effect of prohibiting all trade between the neutral nations and France.

The commercial struggle was waged during the remainder of Napoleon's reign. On the whole, the Continental System its results to proved disastrous to its author. The de-Napoleon. struction of neutral commerce and shipping, the deprivation of necessities which could only be imported from oversea, and the tyranny of the French officials at the ports, combined to rouse all Europe against Napoleon. The conqueror against whom no continental power could stand singly was at length overcome by a coalition of every nation against him. Napoleon held strongly mercantilist theories about commerce. He thought it could be "manœuvred like a regiment," and here his military turn of mind betrayed him into error as it had in sea affairs. In England, on the other hand, as we have seen, modern conditions had begun to raise doubts about the benefits of a strict regulation of trade.

Although the Continental System ruined Napoleon it came near for the moment to ruining England. The rapid its results to increase of manufactures due to the Industrial Great Britain. Revolution needed some outlet, and the closing of European ports caused acute distress. A remedy was however provided by the unchallenged monopoly which sea-power gave of trade with the New World and with Asia. The markets of Central and South America, cut off from Spain, were thrown open to England, while the Dutch and French flags were swept from the Eastern seas. At the end of the war Great Britain, with an accumulation of industrial wealth, was commercially supreme over the ruined nations of the continent, and the folly of Napoleon's system was apparent.

The commercial war bore hardly upon the United States amongst other neutrals. In this case also the grievance War with was complicated by the right of search which U.S., 1812-5. the British navy strictly enforced upon American shipping. Numbers of seamen from the King's ships;

tempted by the high American rates of pay, deserted as opportunity offered; and British cruisers systematically searched American merchantmen to recover the fugitives. A series of high-handed seizures in European ports, and encounters leading to bloodshed upon the seas, led to a declaration of war with the United States in 1812.

The war was ferociously contested and indecisive. On land the Americans attempted without success to conquer Canada. The forces on either side were small. Indecisive as compared with those that were battling in results.

Europe, but they fought with a determination which has seldom been surpassed. After the Battle of Lundy's Lane in 1814, in which each army lost one-third of its strength, the invasion gradually slackened and was finally discontinued. On the sea coasts two main British expeditions effected a landing. The one marched inland, captured Washington, the federal capital, and burned the public buildings. The other sustained a bloody repulse in a similar attempt upon New Orleans. At sea there was no fleet action, but a number of encounters between single ships ended victoriously for the Americans until the prestige of the British navy was restored by the famous duel between the *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake*, two cruisers of nearly equal strength. The *Chesapeake* sailed out of Boston in response to a personal challenge from Captain Broke of the *Shannon*. Fifteen minutes after firing the first shot the British boarded and carried the enemy's decks by storm. Meanwhile commissioners were treating for peace at Ghent. The treaty was actually signed in the last days of 1814, before the final fighting took place at New Orleans. It left unsettled practically all the points at issue before the war.

Napoleon's blind insistence upon the Continental System, coupled with his arrogant disregard of all the rights of nations, ended by rousing the whole continent against him. First Spain, then Russia, and Sweden, then North Germany and Austria, joined Great Britain in a common league for his overthrow.

Fall of  
Napoleon,  
1812-15.



The Anglo-Spanish armies under Wellington drove his troops from the Peninsula, his invasion of Russia in 1812 was a ghastly failure, and the "Battle of the Nations" at Leipsic in 1813 ruined his power in Central Europe. After a final campaign in 1814 on the soil of France itself, he abdicated and retired to the Isle of Elba in the Mediterranean. A Congress met at Vienna to settle the affairs of the civilised world. Its deliberations were interrupted by his return to France in 1815. But his three months' restoration ended on the Field of Waterloo. The watchful British cruisers prevented his escape to America, and he passed the remaining six years of his life at St. Helena. With the work of the Vienna Congress in settling the states of the continent we are not concerned. As regards Congress of the British Empire, the colonial acquisitions Vienna, 1815. mentioned earlier in this chapter were confirmed. Others, notably the rich island of Java, were restored to their former owners, by whom they are held to the present day. With this settlement the long series of wars originating in the days of Louis XIV. and William III. came to an end. Sometimes described as "The Second Hundred Years' War," it was succeeded by exactly a hundred years of general peace broken only by conflicts of minor scope until the outbreak of the mighty conflagration of August, 1914.

### SUMMARY AND DATES

1. The loss of the American colonies discouraged for a time the advocates of imperial expansion. The failure was partly attributable to the working of the Mercantile System (*i.e.* the regulation of trade in the interests of national wealth and sea-power). This, coupled with the Industrial Revolution, assisted the spread of the principles of Free Trade.

2. The French Revolution, beginning in 1789, caused a series of European wars lasting until 1815. Great Britain became involved in the wars in 1793.

3. The Revolutionary War continued until the Peace of Amiens, 1802. At sea the principal events were: the seizure and evacuation

of Toulon, 1793; the Battle of the First of June, 1794; the unsuccessful French expedition against Ireland, 1796; the Battle of St. Vincent, the mutinies in the Fleet and the Battle of Camperdown, 1797; the capture of Malta and the Battle of the Nile, 1798; the revival of the Armed Neutrality and the Battle of Copenhagen, 1801.

4. Napoleon became First Consul in 1799 and Emperor of the French in 1804. He renewed the war against Britain in 1803.

5. A complicated plan for the invasion of England was foiled by the naval campaign of 1805. All hopes of renewing the scheme were ended by the Battle of Trafalgar, October 21st, 1805.

6. Napoleon then sought to injure British commerce by means of the Continental System (Berlin Decree, 1806; Milan Decrees, 1807; Treaty of Tilsit with Russia, 1807), the effect of which was to exclude British trade from European countries.

7. Disputes over the rights of neutrals caused war between Britain and the United States in 1812.

8. The years 1812-15 witnessed the overthrow of Napoleon, largely as the result of the Continental System.

9. The British colonial gains by the wars were: St. Lucia, Tobago and Trinidad; British Honduras and British Guiana; the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius and Ceylon. Java and certain other conquests were restored.



## PART IV. THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

1815-1923

### FROM EMPIRE TO COMMONWEALTH OF BRITISH NATIONS

#### CHAPTER I

##### THE FOUNDATION OF THE DOMINIONS

##### (i) *The Mother Country and the Colonies after 1815*

THE British Empire in 1815 was, although its statesmen hardly realised the fact, on the eve of a transformation, which has in the course of a century produced the great dominions of the present day, the great dependent empire of India, and a series of African dependencies maintained in peace and prosperity by British rule. Many factors working together have led to this result—the Industrial Revolution in the mother country, the parliamentary reforms which have extended political power to all classes, the triumph of Free Trade over the old mercantile system of the eighteenth century, and the rise of humanitarian principles which have placed justice before all other considerations in the handling of subject-races. The object of this section is to review some of these factors and to trace their effects during the first half of the modern period.

The loss of the American colonies and the conquests made in the later wars of the eighteenth century had shifted the balance of imperial interest from the temperate regions of North America to the tropics and the shores of the Indian

Ocean. In 1815 Great Britain, thanks to the work of the Marquis Wellesley, was on the way to a supremacy over The tropics all India. She had also acquired Ceylon from and the East. the Dutch ; and although she restored Java to them at the peace, she still retained an interest in the Malay Straits and the neighbouring regions, where in 1819 Sir Stamford Raffles founded the great port of Singapore. On the road to the East, also, Britain kept her conquest of Cape Town, little dreaming that it was to grow in a hundred years into the Union of South Africa. In West Africa there were a few British trading posts, at the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast. The British West Indies emerged undiminished from the great wars, extended in fact by the conquests of Trinidad and British Guiana ; but owing to inventions elsewhere West Indian sugar was losing its former importance, and a period of depression in the islands was setting in. Colonies in temperate regions comprised only Canada, inhabited by a majority of Frenchmen, and the maritime provinces of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, as yet little developed ; and in the far south, New South Wales and Tasmania, populated chiefly by transported convicts and their guards.

The trade of these true colonies was at this time quite unimportant compared with that of the tropical possessions. British governments therefore showed more interest in India and the East, and for some time did little to help forward the regions where white men could settle and bring up their children. These colonies were left in the main to the care of officials who ruled after the old methods of the eighteenth century, and resisted projects of reform. But the great movements of the age, which we have now to consider, at length compelled statesmen to change their policy.

The Industrial Revolution began as a change in the methods of manufacture in the middle years of George III.

Industrial and Briefly, the old system had been for craftsmen agricultural —spinners, weavers and the like—to work in revolutions. their own homes with primitive machines driven by the force of human muscles alone. Many had

combined these handicrafts with work upon the land, and the population had been spread over the countryside whilst most English towns had remained quite small. Then, at the time indicated, a number of new factors combined to upset the old system. The increase of the colonial and eastern trade caused a great new demand for manufactures; inventors made machines, worked first by water-power and afterwards by steam, and much more efficient than the hand-machines of the past; and capitalists built factories to house the new machines, and attracted swarms of the ruined handworkers from the country into new industrial towns, ugly, ill-built and unhealthy, which sprang up wherever the local conditions were favourable. So developed Manchester and the cotton area of Lancashire, the Yorkshire woollen towns, Birmingham thriving on the manufacture of the new machinery, and "black countries" of mining villages wherever coal was found beneath the soil. At the same time an agricultural revolution was rapidly taking place. There was a new demand for foodstuffs, as for everything else, and the larger landowners and farmers combined to enclose the common lands on which a multitude of peasants had hitherto picked up a living by grazing and common tillage. Under the new system the commoners were deprived of their rights with a slight money compensation; some remained as landless labourers, others drifted off to the new towns. Agriculture in enclosed fields became more efficient, and the country produced more food; but the old peasant class had been uprooted from the soil.

The bearing of these changes upon colonisation is this, that the population of the mother country grew larger than ever before,<sup>1</sup> and a great number of people were divorced from their old means of livelihood and left dependent for

<sup>1</sup> Growth of population of England and Wales in the century 1750-1850:

Year -	-	1750	1770	1790	1810	1830	1850
Millions -	-	6½	7½	8¾	10	13¾	17¾

Scotland showed a similar increase, and so also did Ireland until the famine of 1845 and the subsequent great emigration caused its numbers to fall.

employment on the fluctuations of trade. There was thus, both in town and country, a floating surplus population without any assured future, and these people have emigrated in large numbers throughout the nineteenth century, and have created the great dominions of the present day.

A demand for political reform arose with the social changes outlined above. The younger Pitt during the years of peace between 1783 and 1793 showed a disposition to reform the worst abuses of the old parliament as soon as he should receive adequate support in the undertaking. Then the French Revolution plunged England into war and all reformers became suspected of Jacobinism. Pitt hardened his heart and developed into a stern reactionary, and his successors were of like mind until long after the fall of Napoleon at Waterloo. The coming of peace brought unemployment and discontent. The new industrial population demanded reforms, which the ruling class refused to grant. This was the time of the Corn Law of 1815, keeping out foreign corn in the interest of the landowner; of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, allowing agitators to be imprisoned without trial; of the Peterloo Massacre (1819) when a reform meeting at Manchester was charged by cavalry and many persons killed; and of the Cato Street conspiracy to murder the cabinet ministers in 1820. In 1822-3 Canning and Huskisson, men of milder views, found their way into the ministry, and the attitude of government became less severe. Then, in 1829, the reformers began to triumph. The Irish county of Clare returned Daniel O'Connell, a Catholic, to parliament. Refusal to admit him meant civil war, and Wellington, then prime minister, had reluctantly to pass the Catholic Emancipation Act removing religious disabilities. Next came the turn of parliamentary reform. Lord Grey, taking office in 1830, introduced a Reform Bill sweeping away the rotten boroughs and granting the vote to the middle classes. After a bitter struggle and a new threat of revolution the bill was passed in 1832.

The quickened imagination of the times and the revival of religious feeling begun by John Wesley in the middle of the eighteenth century produced a stirring of Humanitarian the public conscience about the treatment ideas. of subject races. An early effect of this was the trial of Warren Hastings for tyranny of which he had not really been guilty but which, if proved, would have deserved the severest punishment. At the same time the humanitarians took up another question, that of the iniquity of the slave trade and slavery. William Wilberforce led this crusade in parliament, and in 1807 secured the passing of an Act abolishing the slave trade throughout the empire. This did not mean the liberation of existing slaves. They had to wait until 1833, when the first reformed parliament passed the Act emancipating them in all countries under the British flag. The change concerned principally South Africa and the West Indies. In the latter it deepened the depression in the sugar industry, already affected by commercial changes. Another side of this religious and humanitarian movement was seen in the foundation of the great missionary societies at the close of the eighteenth century. Everywhere, and particularly in Africa and the Pacific islands, missionaries have worked to protect the coloured man from oppression. Sometimes they have been unwise and have fomented strife, but of the general good they have wrought there can be no doubt. The effect of these movements upon the empire at large has been to build up a tradition of justice and fair play which was to a great extent lacking in the old system of the eighteenth century.

Whilst the humanitarians were concerning themselves with the dependencies the general public were taking a new interest in emigration to the colonies. Systematic For reasons already explained this became colonisation. brisker than ever before when the wars came to an end in 1815. The government made some experiments in assisting emigration, particularly to South Africa in 1820, but in general the movement lacked organisation, and the emigrants suffered needless hardships on the voyage and



after landing. This neglect was partly due to the belief that there was no future for the true colony of settlement: the precedent of American separation was always quoted against it. About 1829, however, influential persons began to take up the question of colonisation, and in the next ten years associations of moneyed men conveyed bodies of settlers to Western and South Australia and New Zealand. Prominent among the advocates of "systematic colonisation," as it was called, was Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who insisted on the principle that the government ought to sell colonial lands to those able to buy them, and devote the money to paying the passages of the poorer labourers. This plan was in the main adopted in Australia and New Zealand, and produced thriving colonies with capital and labour combined in due proportion.

The old empire which the War of Independence had torn asunder had been organised on the basis of preferential Free Trade. and exclusive trade. The colonies had been allowed to trade only with the mother country, and she on her side had exacted lower duties on their produce than foreigners had been obliged to pay. The system emphasised moneymaking rather than loyalty, and had led to a disastrous result. In the period we are now reviewing it was altogether abandoned. Adam Smith's Free Trade doctrines gradually made headway. In 1820 the London Chamber of Commerce declared against protective duties. In 1822-5 Huskisson modified the Navigation Acts so as to permit partial freedom of colonial trade with foreign countries. In the following years the leading manufacturers of Lancashire—the "Manchester School"—began to demand universal freedom of trade, especially in corn. The landed interest resisted, but Sir Robert Peel, the Conservative leader, gradually became converted. In 1842 and the following years his budgets abolished most of the protective duties on manufactures, and in 1846 he repealed the Corn Laws. Finally, in 1849, his successors swept away what remained of the Navigation Acts. The importance of this economic revolution to the future of the new colonies was

immense. It removed the principal cause of ill-feeling between the colonist and the Englishman at home, and so allowed unfettered development to the sentiments of brotherhood and common citizenship which have animated the modern empire. The colonist has become the equal and not the subject of his brethren in the mother country.

One more great change of this period remains to be mentioned. It was the substitution of responsible government for the merely representative government hitherto prevailing in the colonies. What this really meant will appear from the record of Canada and the other units which we have next to consider.

### (ii) *Canada to 1854.*

In thinking of Canada in its earlier stages it is necessary to put quite out of mind the great dominion which the map shows us to-day. That is the achievement of the nineteenth century, and it scarcely entered the imagination of the men whom Wolfe led to victory on the Plains of Abraham. The Canada which Wolfe conquered and France resigned by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 was a mere strip of cultivated land on either bank of the St. Lawrence, from the great lakes to the estuary, inhabited by little more than 70,000 white men, all of French nationality. South-east of the estuary and facing the Atlantic lay the maritime province of Nova Scotia, thinly peopled by a few French peasants whose ancestors had settled in the seventeenth century, and a few British immigrants, the first of whom had only made their appearance in 1749. All the rest was a mere claim, a possibility yet to be fulfilled, a wilderness of prairie and lake and primeval forest, given over to a few Indian savages and a multitude of bison and moose and small fur-bearing animals, and penetrated as yet only by a few French woodsmen, half savage themselves, and by the hardy Scotch factors of the Hudson's Bay Company. Early Canada, then, as a settled colony, means the valley of the St. Lawrence and nothing more.

The statesmen who took over their conquest in 1763 had to deal with a problem almost new to them, that of Paternal governing subjects of alien race, language and government. traditions, in such a way as to secure their liking and respect. They certainly succeeded in their handling of it, and they did so by adapting their measures to the special conditions—a method which has had much to do with the success of British empire-building ever since. The French peasants and their feudal *seigneurs* in the St. Lawrence valley knew nothing of votes and elections and a representative assembly, such as were customary in the British colonies. For thirty years, therefore, their British rulers made no attempt to introduce these things. Instead they appointed governors of high character, soldiers accustomed to enforce obedience, and at the same time sympathetic and determined to do justice without respect of persons. These governors were, in succession, Generals Murray, Sir Guy Carleton, and Sir Frederick Haldimand, and then Carleton again under his later title of Lord Dorchester. The Quebec Act of 1774 strengthened their hands by recognising the religious liberty of the Catholic colonists and their priests.

The test of the system came in 1775, when the thirteen English colonies revolted and sent a force to turn the Canada and British out of Canada. The Americans entered the American Canada with stirring exhortations to the revolt.

French to rise in the cause of liberty; but scarcely a Frenchman joined them, and some assisted Carleton in his successful defence of Quebec. As has been related in a previous chapter (pp. 196-7), the American invasion was completely beaten off.

The acknowledgement of American independence led to the formation of a British colony in Canada. A large U.E. number of the American colonists had been Loyalists: loyal to the British connexion, and many had Upper Canada. fought actively on the British side. These people received harsh treatment from their fellow-countrymen after the fall of their cause: they were, in fact, harried

out of their native country. In the years following 1783 they emigrated, to the number of about 50,000, into the colonies still under the British flag. Some made for Nova Scotia, and were granted lands in its unpeopled interior region. This in 1784 became the separate province of New Brunswick, with representative government as in the old British colonies. Other loyalists crossed the lakes and the St. Lawrence and entered Canada proper. They settled in the triangle of land between Lakes Ontario, Erie and Huron, to the westward of the French settlements. There after years of toil and privation they made the prosperous British colony of Ontario or Upper Canada. The government granted lands to all these refugees who could prove that they had fought on the British side, and further distinguished them by the title of United Empire Loyalists, which their descendants are entitled to bear to this day.

The influx of the Loyalists into Canada raised a constitutional problem. In their old homes they had been accustomed to representative institutions, Constitutional which the government could scarcely deny Act, 1791.

them now that they had sacrificed so much for the flag. On the other hand the French of Lower Canada had a positive dislike for an elected assembly, which many of them believed to be a cunning device for extorting new taxes. Responsible men saw, however, that it would not do to grant the vote to the British colonists whilst withholding it from the French : unequal rights would inevitably cause dissension. Also it was not advisable to set up one elected body for the whole of Canada, since the French were much more numerous than the British, and when they realised their power they might behave in a tyrannical fashion. Accordingly Pitt's ministry in 1791 adopted what seemed to them the best way out of the difficulty. They divided Canada into two provinces, Upper and Lower, each with an assembly elected by the people, a legislative council or upper chamber nominated from above, and a Lieutenant-Governor assisted by an executive council of his own choosing. A Governor-in-Chief was to supervise the affairs

of both provinces. The measure embodying this arrangement is known as the Canadian Constitutional Act.

The Act set up representative government. Here it is necessary to distinguish carefully between that and responsible government, which prevails in the andresponsible dominions to-day. In representative government the colonial assembly had power to pass laws, which might be vetoed by the governor's legislative council, and to grant or refuse taxes, although if it refused the authorities often found other means of raising the money. But the assembly had no control over the spending of the money, or over the appointment or dismissal of the officials. In other words, the assembly had legislative (law-making) power, but not administrative (governing) control. This system had proved unsatisfactory in the old American colonies, and it was again to prove so in Canada. The people found themselves at odds with the officials, whom they could not dismiss. Out of the Canadian troubles there came at length responsible government. In this form there is no permanent executive council to spend the revenues and control policy. Instead, the governor chooses a cabinet of ministers who must have the support of a majority in the assembly. When they become unpopular and lose that support they must resign, and another cabinet takes their place. Hence the ministers (the executive) are *responsible* to the assembly, and can only hold office during its pleasure. Thus the popular will is enforced, and the country enjoys real self-government.

In Quebec or Lower Canada it soon appeared that representative government was not going to work well. The Representative executive officials appointed were nearly all government Englishmen, and of course the members of not a success. the assembly were nearly all Frenchmen. The *seigneurs* stood aloof from politics, and so the persons elected were often ignorant, and sometimes unable to read or write. It was natural that they should form an exaggerated notion of their powers, and should give vent to violent and unreasonable speeches when curbed from above.

There was, it must be remembered, a real grievance. The true employer of the officials was the Colonial Office in London, since it appointed and paid them; and it took very little trouble to see that they acted honestly and did their duty in the interests of the colony. On the contrary, they were accused in both the Canadas of making money illegally by the disposal of land and of government patronage, and the people regarded them as an obstacle between the Crown and its subjects. In Upper Canada there were also the seeds of trouble on account of the influx of American settlers, and their demand for political equality, which the Loyalists were unwilling to grant.

Discontent, however, as the history of the British Empire has so often shown, may be quite a different thing from disaffection. In Canada this was proved by the war of the war with the United States in 1812-14. 1812.

Until its final campaign, when a number of regular troops were sent out from Europe, the Canadian militia fought almost unaided against the American invasion, which they defeated at nearly every point. And the French of Quebec were just as forward in the fight as the British of the newer settlements.

After the war things ought to have gone better in Canada, but actually they went worse. In the French province disputes and deadlocks between the government and the assembly became the ordinary state of affairs. Gradually the contest took the shape of a racial struggle. There were at Quebec and Montreal a number of British merchants, and after the peace of 1815 British immigrants began to settle in the region known as the Eastern Townships. But this British element was never able to vote many members into the assembly, and that body was therefore given to oppressing it. Taxation, in particular, was so adjusted that the British traders paid heavily and the French landed interest very little. In the 'twenties the most violent elements among the French found a leader in Louis Joseph Papineau, who habitually made seditious speeches, and gradually developed into a revolu-

Discontent  
in Lower  
Canada.

tionary. In 1834 Papineau and his supporters put forward a long list of grievances and demands. They obtained some countenance from the Radical party in the home parliament, but the imperial government refused to yield. So much was settled by the summer of 1837, when the assembly met at Quebec and indulged in vain protests. The malcontents then dispersed to rouse their supporters to rebellion.

Meanwhile in Upper Canada different circumstances were leading to the same end. There, instead of a racial conflict Discontent in there was a class-conflict, between the original Upper settlers and the newer immigrants crowding Canada. in from the British Isles. The former, comprising many U.E. Loyalists, formed a ring known as the Family Compact, which sought to monopolise all power and patronage. Their proved loyalty made the government ready to trust them, so that their members were appointed freely to official positions. The chief scandals centred round the distribution of land. Favoured persons obtained large grants which they were unable to develop, but which they held up from occupation by the newer arrivals. By the Act of 1791 also, one-seventh of the land was reserved for the support of two churches, the Anglican and the Presbyterian, whilst others, like the very numerous Methodists, were ignored. Real popular control would soon have remedied these grievances, and gradually a reforming party arose under William Lyon Mackenzie, the proprietor of an anti-government newspaper. The unyielding attitude of the Family Compact and the Governor made Mackenzie, like Papineau, a revolutionary.

In the closing months of 1837 rebellions broke out simultaneously in Lower and Upper Canada. Once more it was Rebellions of shown that although many were discontented 1837. few were disloyal, for only a few hundreds turned out in arms. In the lower province the affair lasted a month, and in the upper, only a week. Papineau and Mackenzie both escaped to the United States, whilst only two of their followers were executed.

The rebellions, feeble as they were, showed the home government that something was seriously wrong with Canada. The Melbourne ministry therefore sent out the Earl of Durham in 1838 with full powers to investigate grievances and suggest remedies. His *Report* is the Magna Charta of the colonies, for in it he exposed the shortcomings of merely representative government, and declared that the true and necessary form was responsible government. The *Report* dealt with much else—with the faulty land system and the Anglo-French racial conflict. For the latter it proposed as a remedy the reunion of the two Canadas under one government. These things were of local interest, peculiar to Canada alone. But the eloquent advocacy of responsible government has made the *Report* a great imperial document, moulding the fortunes of Australia and South Africa and providing a constitutional gospel for British colonists the world over.

Imperial statesmen were by no means ready as yet to grant responsible government, although, once it had been discussed, they found it difficult to resist. Canada Act They passed, however, the Canada Act of 1840. 1840, which provided a single representative assembly for the two provinces, an equal number of members being elected by each.

The Act of 1840 said nothing about responsible government, but during the following years that method came gradually into operation. The old officials were told that they must not regard their positions as permanent, and successive governments-general found themselves more and more obliged to rely upon advisers who had the confidence of the assembly. Finally Lord Elgin took office in 1847. He believed enthusiastically in Lord Durham's principles, and his task of bringing them into practice was made easier by the fact that the mother-country was now adopting free trade and sweeping away the Navigation Acts. Elgin's rule lasted until 1854, and by its close responsible government had



come into full operation, recognised on either side of the ocean as the modern method of administering a great colony.

(iii) *Australia and New Zealand to 1856*

The old world-maps of the sixteenth century show a great mass of land covering the whole southern part of Terra the globe and forming a sixth continent at Australis. least as large as Asia. This was a guess on the part of the map-makers, who thus linked together the scattered reports of seamen of coasts sighted in various parts of the southern seas, and bestowed upon the imaginary whole the title of *Terra Australis Incognita*. Later exploration showed open water to exist in many areas covered by this supposed land-mass; but ships voyaging eastwards from the Cape of Good Hope often sighted a long and barren coast to the southward of the Dutch East Indies, and it was to this that the name *Terra Australis* ultimately became limited. It was, in fact, the Western Australia of to-day. Abel Tasman, a Dutch captain, circumnavigated Australia in 1643, and so proved it to be a great island unconnected with any possible continent towards the south pole. But he did not keep in sight of the land during the whole of his voyage, and thus missed seeing the south-eastern coasts, which afterwards proved to be the most attractive part of the country. It was left for Captain James Cook more than a century later to make this discovery and to be the true pioneer of the British dominions of the south.

Cook is one of the self-made men of English history, a man who developed his own talents and devoted them to Cook's an unselfish performance of duty. Without discovery. wealth or influence, he made himself a first-class scientific navigator in an age when life at sea for the poor man was incredibly harsh and brutal. Serving with Wolfe's Quebec expedition in 1759, he attracted attention by his sketches and charts of the little-known St. Lawrence channels. Nine years later the government appointed him to command a scientific expedition to the south Pacific Ocean, and sent with him Sir Joseph Banks

and other members of the Royal Society. They sailed first to Tahiti to make astronomical observations. Then in 1769 they went on to New Zealand, circumnavigated the islands, and made the first accurate chart of their shores. Thence, early in 1770, they pushed on to the eastern coast of Australia, of which they were the first discoverers. They were struck with the charm and fertility of the country, so different from the dreary western shores known to the Dutch of old time. Cook named the country New South Wales, and by a daring feat of navigation kept touch with the whole length of the east coast in spite of the perils of the great Barrier Reef. He was thus able to bring home in 1771 an accurate and detailed report instead of the vague outline which would have satisfied a less thorough man. He made two more voyages to the Pacific, in 1772-5 and 1776-9, proving that the southern continent, apart from Australia, did not exist, and seeking the North West Passage by a western approach. He was killed in a fight with the natives of Hawaii in 1779.

Sir Joseph Banks never forgot the attractions of New South Wales, and repeatedly urged the government to colonise it. After the loss of the American colonies (1775-83) the problem arose of disposing of British criminals. Their numbers far exceeded the capacity of the prisons, and it had been customary to send about a thousand of them every year to the American plantations. It was now decided to form a convict settlement in Australia, with the additional motive of forestalling the French, who were thought to have designs on that country.

Captain Arthur Phillip, of the Royal Navy, sailed with the first party in 1787, and early in the following year reached Botany Bay, so named by Banks on account of its flowery landscape. Soon afterwards Phillip moved on to the better harbour of Port Jackson, where he founded Sydney, the first colony in Australia. A French ship appeared a few days after the British landing; but its commander, learning that Britain

had annexed all the eastern half of the continent, sailed away without disclosing what his own intentions had been.

The first twenty years of the new colony were a time of hardship for all concerned. New gangs of convicts poured out from England, often insufficiently provided with food and clothing. There was a lack of skilled farmers and agricultural tools, so that rations were at times extremely short. The country furnished no domestic animals; cattle and sheep and horses had all to be imported and acclimatised. The state of society, unique in the history of British expansion, added to the hardships. There were no free men: all were convicts, working in gangs, or soldiers watching them, musket in hand. The officers were obliged to maintain the severest discipline for fear of a rising among the desperate men under their care, and flogging and death were the common penalties. Even so, Phillip and his successors found it necessary to weed out the worst characters and place them in separate establishments. This led to the occupation of Norfolk Island in the Pacific and, in 1803-4, of Tasmania, then called Van Diemen's Land. The full story of the early convict settlements is a sad one, for it must be remembered that not all of these unhappy men were criminals in the modern sense of the word. Many were transported for such offences as poaching, stealing to assuage hunger, or combining to demand higher wages, which was then termed "conspiracy"—and some of these poachers and pilferers were mere children who would nowadays be dismissed with a few strokes of the birch.

Gradually these nightmare conditions gave way to better things, and the slavery of New South Wales and Tasmania developed into one of the freest communities under the British flag. Convicts who had served their sentences were not given a free passage home, and so the majority had to remain in the colony. The best-behaved of these received small grants of land. Larger grants were allotted to retired officers and soldiers of the military guard. And after the peace of 1815 there was a

steady and increasing trickle of free emigrants from the mother-country. The result was that by 1840 the character of New South Wales had changed, and the free element in the population had become strong enough to demand that transportation should cease. This demand was granted in that year, but convicts continued to be sent to Tasmania until 1853. During the early period the Governor of New South Wales had absolute authority over all his subjects. After 1823 he was obliged to act with the advice of a nominated council ; and in 1842 representative government was introduced, with the majority of the councillors elected by the inhabitants.

The true romance of early Australia lies, not in the squalid chain-gangs of Sydney and Hobart, but in the story of the continent's exploration. Hitherto the Exploration achievements of British discovery had lain of the interior. upon the sea. But by the nineteenth century the ship had conquered the ocean, and the great interior regions of the continents were the explorer's field. Until 1813 the expansion of New South Wales was checked by the Blue Mountains, running parallel to the coast and at a distance of about sixty miles from it. In that year two pioneers found a pass over the mountains, and discovered the Bathurst Plains, a fine grass country beyond. Hard on their trail followed the graziers with flocks of sheep which soon multiplied to unheard-of numbers, and the economic future of Australia was assured. The enormous output of raw wool produced from the sheep-runs entered the home market just as the new machines of the industrial revolution were creating an unprecedented demand. Explorers' tracks spread out like a fan from the pass through the Blue Mountains. Some turned northwards, discovered new grazing countries (Liverpool Plains and Darling Downs), and came out to the sea again by another pass in the neighbourhood of Brisbane. Others followed westwards the rivers which they found flowing away from the inland slope of the mountains, and so mapped the numerous tributaries which converge into the Murray and enter the sea at Encounter

Bay. Others again turned southwards, crossed another ridge, and reached the southern coast through some of the most fertile lands of the continent, afterwards the separate colony of Victoria. From other directions also the interior was approached. Explorers starting from the centre of the south coast reached a sterile region, and left their names attached to Lakes Eyre and Torrens. The west was also traversed, and finally the continent was crossed from south to north and from west to east, and its full possibilities began to appear.

Meanwhile Australia was attracting ever more attention at home. In 1829 a body of wealthy men founded a new Western Aus. colony on the Swan River, which afterwards *tralia, 1829.* expanded into the present Western Australia. They were not very fortunate in their choice of a site, and they made the mistake of attempting to occupy too great an area at the outset, so that they wasted a great deal of money with little result. Western Australia was at first reckoned a failure, and many of its settlers went off to New South Wales to begin again; but after several unhappy years the colony took firm root and began to prosper.

Gibbon Wakefield and the advocates of "systematic colonisation" were very eloquent about the mismanagement *South Aus-* of the Swan River venture, and in 1836 they *tralia, 1836.* gathered sufficient support to begin the colonisation of South Australia on methods of their own. A large body of picked men founded the city of Adelaide, but here again there was some delay and loss of money before they got to work upon the land. The period of uncertainty was, however, much shorter, and within seven years South Australia was a pronounced success. Both Western and South Australia were founded as free colonies, to which there was to be no transportation. South Australia always remained so, but Western Australia petitioned for convicts as a way out of its labour difficulties. It continued to receive them until 1868, when transportation was finally abolished.

Victoria had been first traversed by explorers coming overland from Sydney. Its first colonists, on the contrary, came by sea from Tasmania in 1834. They found it an excellent country, and many others hastened to join them. Although the Colonial Office at this time disapproved of the planting of new colonies there was no stopping the rush of pioneers to Victoria. The foundations of Melbourne, the capital, were laid in 1837, and the region was formally recognised as a part of New South Wales. This was a position which did not satisfy the Victorians, who thought themselves entitled to rank as a separate colony. When required to elect representatives to the council at Sydney under the constitution of 1842 they ironically returned the Secretary of State for the Colonies as the sole member for all their seats; their own people, they complained, had no time to make the long journey to Sydney. At length, in 1851, they obtained their wish, and became a separate colony with a representative constitution.

Six weeks afterwards a shepherd picked up nuggets of gold at Ballarat, within the boundary of the new state, and investigation showed that the soil was gold-bearing in all directions. A mad rush for the diggings set in from all parts of Australia, and from all parts of the world. The population of Victoria leapt up from 70,000 to 300,000, of which a great number were concentrated in the vast camp which covered the few golden miles. Not all were fortunate, and there was a violent outbreak when the government tried to enforce payment for a licence to dig. The discontented miners entrenched themselves in the Eureka Stockade, and regular soldiers had to be employed to drive them out. This, the only military action which has been fought on the soil of Australia, cost about forty lives. Considering the great number of vigorous and undisciplined characters collected by the lure of gold, it is surprising that there were no greater disorders than this.

Queensland, the sixth Australian state, began its career

in 1859. The region, like Victoria, had previously been a part of New South Wales, and Brisbane, its capital, had Queensland, been founded as a convict settlement in 1826. 1859.

The separation was due to growing population and a feeling that Queensland interests were not properly cared for at Sydney. Of the six Australian states, three, Tasmania, Victoria and Queensland, are therefore offshoots of the original New South Wales; whilst two, Western and South Australia, are of independent origin.

The colonisation of New Zealand was officially recognised by British annexation in 1840; but there were at that New Zealand; time about 2,000 white men already in the early years. islands, and the New Zealand Company, promoted by Gibbon Wakefield, had taken up large blocks of land. The government, unwilling to found new colonies, thus found its hand forced by the action of private individuals. New Zealand soon proved to be excellent soil for settlement, its climate temperate and insular like that of the mother country, and its scenery and natural beauties unsurpassed. But there was at first trouble with the warlike Maori tribes, whose land laws the white men did not understand. A Maori who claimed to be a landowner would often sell the ground for the trade goods which he coveted, and afterwards when the buyer tried to take possession it would appear that he had been duped, for the Maori tribe as a whole owned the soil, and no individual, not even the chief, had the right to sell it. This led to numerous disputes, and the beginning of a general war with the Maoris in 1845. But Sir George Grey, who had already earned a reputation as governor of South Australia, was hurriedly transferred to New Zealand, and by tact and firmness prevented the mischief from spreading. He remained until 1853. During his rule the colony of New Zealand was thoroughly established, all the Maoris of the South Island being transferred to the North. Afterwards, between 1860 and 1870, the tribes of the North Island again gave trouble, and a series of campaigns were needed to subdue them. In 1852-3 New Zealand obtained representative government.

Responsible government came later in the Australasian colonies than in Canada, but it was introduced without a struggle, for the whole principle had already been thrashed out in Canada between 1838 and 1848. There was first in Australasian states a period of representative government, beginning with New South Wales in 1842. The gold rush led to a rapid increase of population, and this in its turn to a demand for greater political liberty. The home authorities made no objection, and new constitutions came into force in 1855 for New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia, and in 1856 for New Zealand. All these had the effect of establishing responsible government. Queensland, on its separation from New South Wales in 1859, at once received the same system. Western Australia, scantily populated and still a convict colony, lagged behind. It got rid of its convicts in 1868, received representative government in 1870, and responsible government only in 1890.

#### (iv) *South Africa to 1854*

The Dutch East India Company founded in 1652 the little settlement of Cape Town in order that fresh meat and vegetables might be supplied to its ships on the long voyage from Europe to the Spice Islands. At first the settlers were the servants of the Company, but gradually they became free farmers, the Boers of later history. The colony grew very slowly, for Dutchmen were by instinct traders rather than colonists, and the wealth of the East attracted them more than did farm work in South Africa. When Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685 numbers of Huguenots were harried out of France, and some found refuge at the Cape, where they form an appreciable strain in the population to the present day: many names prominent in South African history are of evident French origin.

Cape Colony  
under the  
Dutch.

The Cape Colony, small and unprogressive, had an uneventful career until the period of the Revolutionary and



Napoleonic wars. Then, Holland being under the power of France, British expeditions attacked her colonies. The British In this way the Cape was taken by a British Conquest. force in 1795. It was restored by the Treaty of Amiens, but was again captured, and this time permanently, in 1806. The British government, in retaining the conquest, thought only of its importance as a naval base on the route to India. After 1815, however, a few British colonists settled at Cape Town, and in 1820 a larger body broke fresh ground at Grahamstown farther to the east, and founded the province of Albany on territory which the Boers had never occupied. Later still a few hardy adventurers seated themselves on the coast of Natal in the country of the ferocious Zulus, who tolerated their presence on account of the trade-goods which they supplied.

Up to this point South Africa had a chance of developing peacefully as a single unit of the empire. But the Boers, Emancipation of slaves. had no love for their British rulers and fellow-colonists, and two questions, one of imperial, the other of local, importance brought their discontent to a head. The first was the movement against slavery, which the Act of 1833 abolished throughout the British dominions. The promoters of the measure had the West Indies principally in their minds, but the abolition affected also South Africa, where the Boers had a few thousand Hottentot slaves upon their farms. Parliament voted a sum of money as compensation for the loss of the slaves, but the business was so ill managed that hardly any of the Boers received what was due to them. The authorities did not defraud them intentionally, but the affair was typical of the inefficient colonial administration of the day, which exasperated all the colonists alike, and gave weight to the demand for responsible government.

The second question was caused by the attitude of the missionaries. These men, enthusiastic and humane, denounced the Boer for his treatment of the natives. To them it seemed intolerable that a white man should flog a black, although to the Boer it appeared the natural means

of preserving order. The missionary ideal was that white settlement should not be allowed to spread, and that around Cape Colony there should be set up a ring of independent native states, protected and civilised by missionary labours. This vision was rudely shaken by a war with the Kaffir tribes. In 1834-5 the latter invaded the white territory in force, murdering the settlers and burning the farms. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the governor, called out the colonists, repelled the Kaffirs, and in retaliation annexed a new belt of land to the north and east of the Albany Province. The missionaries at once raised an outcry and gained support from religious people in England who did not understand South African conditions. Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, yielded to the clamour. He disallowed the annexation, recalled D'Urban, and ordered the frontier to be moved back to its original line. This was the last straw to the Boers. Numbers of them determined to move off out of British jurisdiction, and the exodus from Cape Colony began in 1836. It is known to history as the Great Trek, and it determined the fate of South Africa for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

The trekkers, who ultimately numbered about 10,000, moved generally in small bands of a few families at a time. Their object was to find a country beyond the reach of British officials, where they might live and behave as seemed good to them. They took with them all their movable possessions piled upon huge waggons drawn by their oxen and carrying also their women and children, whilst the men on their hardy ponies formed a mounted escort to the column. The waggons were thus the true homes of the moving population, and at night they were drawn into a ring or lager which could be defended against native attacks. Some bands of trekkers crossed the Orange River to the north of Cape Colony, and formed the nucleus of the Orange Free State of later times. Others pushed on further, crossed the Vaal River, and founded the Transvaal. In doing so they

routed the Matabele, an offshoot of the Zulu nation, and drove them northwards across the Limpopo, which forms the boundary of the Transvaal to this day. Yet a third stream went eastwards, crossed the Drakensberg Mountains, and entered Natal in 1837-8. The Zulu king murdered Piet Retief, the leader, and sixty of his comrades after inducing them to lay aside their arms at a friendly conference. Afterwards the surviving Boers defeated the Zulus with great slaughter at the Blood River, and chased them out of Natal into the country now called Zululand. The victors then proclaimed a republic in Natal, but soon came into collision with the British settlers whom we have already mentioned as occupying the coast. These people claimed protection from the Cape, and in 1843 Natal was declared to be a British colony. Five years later the Boers, resolute not to submit to British rule, again went on trek, quitting Natal and joining their friends in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

The British government did not at first admit that the trekkers had ceased to be British subjects. But at length it had to recognise the fact that they had passed out of its control. In 1852 its representatives concluded with the Transvaal Boers an arrangement known as the Sand River Convention, by which the Transvaal was acknowledged to be independent on condition that there should be no slavery within its borders. Similarly, in 1854 the Bloemfontein Convention accorded the same terms to the Orange Free State. South Africa was thus divided into two British colonies, the Cape and Natal, and two Boer republics, surrounded by warlike native tribes as yet unsubdued. The division was an unhappy one, which it needed fifty troubled years to reverse.

### IMPORTANT DATES

- 1770. Capt. Cook discovers New South Wales.
- 1783. United Empire Loyalists enter Canada.
- 1788. Colonisation of New South Wales.
- 1791. Canadian Constitutional Act.
- 1806. British conquest of the Cape Colony.
- 1807. Act abolishing the slave trade.
- 1815. Corn Law.
- 1819. Manchester Massacre.
- 1829. Colonisation of Western Australia.
- 1832. Parliamentary Reform Act.
- 1833. Act abolishing slavery in the British Empire.
- 1836. Colonisation of South Australia.  
The Great Trek.
- 1837. Rebellions in Canada.
- 1838. The Durham Report.
- 1840. Annexation of New Zealand.  
Canada Act.
- 1843. Natal declared a British colony.
- 1846. Repeal of the Corn Laws.
- 1849. Repeal of the Navigation Acts.
- 1851. Discovery of gold in Victoria.
- 1852-1854. Sand River and Bloemfontein Conventions.

## CHAPTER II

### THE GROWTH OF THE DOMINIONS

#### (i) *The New Imperialism*

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the statesmen who passed navigation acts and forbade foreigners to trade with English colonies had argued after this fashion : " Does a man plant an orchard and allow all comers to enter and pick the fruit ? No, he has a right to keep the fruit for himself." They were wrong, for colonists were men with a will of their own, and not a passive commodity to be disposed of at the will of others. After the loss of the American colonies the simile changed, although it was still a botanical one. Wise-acres looking upon Canada and the young Australian settlements shook their heads sadly and said : " When the fruit is ripe it drops from the parent tree "—meaning that the destiny of all colonies was ultimate separation from the mother-country. These people again were wrong, as the history of our own time has shown. The fallacy of both arguments lay in regarding colonies as the property of the people at home. On the other hand the new imperialism of the last fifty years has taught that it is not so much the lands as the men that dwell in them that matter. Citizens of the British Empire the world over are members of one body, and the natural course is not that they should separate but that they should cleave together in a common defence of their liberties and laws. Britons are now the freest men on earth, and the price of liberty is constant vigilance.

Until the beginning of the reign of Queen Victoria colonial affairs received little attention from statesmen and the British public ; and what notice they did obtain was often in a sense hostile to colonial interests, as in the matters of slave emancipation and missionary activities in South Africa. Then, in 1836-9 the Canadian rebellion and the colonisation of South Australia and New Zealand brought into prominence a new school of thinkers who believed in the future of the empire. Lord Durham preached responsible government, and his successor Lord Elgin showed that it was workable. Gibbon Wakefield and his friends popularised and organised emigration. Colonial governors of the stamp of Sir George Grey and Sir Benjamin D'Urban were enthusiasts for their cause and a great improvement upon the older type of official. Yet with all their energy these men made but a passing impression upon opinion at home. It was a tragedy that Lord Durham, the greatest among them, died shortly after the writing of his great *Report*. At the same time a hostile current was setting very strongly in English politics. These were the days when Richard Cobden and John Bright and their friends of the Manchester School were overthrowing protection and the Navigation Acts. In so doing they were really benefiting the empire, but that was not the way in which they themselves regarded their work. They thought that they were cutting away the last bonds that joined the colonies to England, and they openly exulted in the fact ; for they held that colonies were a useless encumbrance and the chief cause of war. Durham's opinions made but a faint impression upon succeeding British ministries, whilst the ideas of the Manchester School remained dominant until after 1870. The readiness with which responsible government was granted in Australia was but a symptom of this state of affairs, for most statesmen regarded it as a step on the road to complete separation.

Imperialists  
versus the  
Manchester  
School.

From about 1870 we may date the turn of the tide and the beginning of the flow of modern imperialism.

Emigration was still on the increase, so that there was hardly a family that had not some friend or relative overseas. Cheap postage and the quick passage of ocean steamers were breaking down the barriers of distance and time. The journalist also played his part, and news of distant lands was spread with a speed hitherto unknown. As a result a sense of kinship between the mother-country and the colonies arose, a sentiment which had scarcely existed in the old empire of the eighteenth century. Benjamin Disraeli, Conservative prime minister from 1874 to 1880, noted the new tendency and put himself at its head. In his speeches he preached imperial unity and, whilst his actual undertakings were not very fortunate, he at least planted the seed. After his time there was under Gladstone some reaction in government to the old views of pessimism about the empire, but able writers like Sir J. R. Secley, James Anthony Froude and Sir Charles Dilke, took up the work and kept the imperial idea before the public mind. France, Germany and Russia were also beginning to display a new activity in expansion, and the threat of danger from their proceedings stimulated a new interest in imperial defence.

It was not long before a concrete proposal arose out of these new sentiments. It was that of imperial federation, the construction of some parliamentary assembly to contain representatives from all the units of the empire, and to exercise a general control over its affairs. At once, however, a difficulty presented itself. Englishmen had now become democratic, and the representation would have to be in proportion to numbers; and at this time (c. 1880-90) there were four times as many people in the mother-country as in all the white colonies combined. In the proposed federal parliament, therefore, the colonies would never have the weight which would satisfy them. Federation, in fact, is only possible between units which are substantially equal in development. Also the colonies had now become accustomed to self-government, and were very jealous of their

local privilege of managing their own affairs without interference. For these reasons imperial federation was not an acceptable idea, and it is now heard of no more.

In spite of this fact imperial loyalty was a stronger force than it had ever been before. Most men now believed in the future of the empire, whereas in the earlier period most men had believed that it was destined to break in pieces. In 1887 occurred Queen Victoria's jubilee, and there was a gathering of notable people in London to celebrate the event. This was made the occasion of the first Colonial Conference (now called the Imperial Conference), a meeting of British and dominion statesmen to discuss affairs. This almost accidental institution has since developed into a regular organ of the empire. It now meets at regular intervals, and forms a clearing-house for ideas and the discussion of policy. But the Imperial Conference is in no sense a form of federation, for its decisions are not binding unless approved by the parliaments of the various units of the empire. It forms a good illustration of the British method in politics, where institutions are left to grow naturally instead of being launched ready-made and complete.

The South African War of 1899-1902 was the test of the new imperialism. It opened unfortunately for the British armies, and the slightest sign of weakness might have encouraged foreign ill-wishers to interfere. But the empire showed a solid front, and the dominions not only protested their loyalty, but raised troops of their own and sent them to fight in the common cause. It was, had contemporaries known it, a great dress-rehearsal for the far sterner trial of 1914.

### (ii) *The Expansion of Canada*

In the previous chapter we have traced the story of Canada as far as the full establishment of responsible government under Lord Elgin. The two Canadian provinces were regarded as quite separate from the three maritime provinces of Nova Scotia,



New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. These last obtained responsible government on the Canadian precedent. In Canada the Act of 1840 had established a single representative body with an equal number of members from either of the two provinces. When it was passed Lower Canada (thenceforward called Quebec) had a larger population than Upper Canada (Ontario). But as the years elapsed Ontario was filled up by the flow of emigration from Great Britain, and its numbers began to draw ahead of those of the French province which received no such accession from France. Ontario thus became discontented with the Act of 1840, which, it claimed, did not yield it due weight in the assembly. This grievance gave rise to a proposal for a federal constitution, that is, one in which each province should have its own assembly for its local affairs, whilst a central government should deal with the business common to both. The idea was mooted at the same time in the maritime provinces, and a conference met at Quebec in 1864, consisting of representatives from all the five units. The Quebec Conference rapidly came to an agreement upon the main outlines of confederation, although the settlement of financial details took some time. Finally, in 1867, the work was completed, and the British North America Act was passed through the home parliament.

The Act confederated the provinces into the Dominion of Canada. Each was to retain its local legislature with <sup>The Dominion</sup> control over certain defined matters of local constitution. importance. Each was also to be represented in the Dominion parliament, consisting of two houses, the Senate and the House of Commons. At the head of all was placed the governor-general, representing the Crown, and choosing his cabinet of ministers from the party having a majority in the House of Commons. Thus a strong central government for the whole country was established, and at the same time local liberties were safeguarded. Four provinces entered the Dominion in 1867—Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Prince Edward Island joined in 1873, but Newfoundland, although invited, has

never done so, and remains a separate unit to the present day. Its fisheries give it a different set of interests from those of the mainland, and for that reason the Labrador coast, used only for fishing, has been placed under its jurisdiction. The Dominion of Canada was the first of the great consolidations of small units into large which have added so enormously to the strength of the empire in modern times.

So far we have been dealing with Canada east of Lake Superior, but the Dominion of to-day, as the map shows, extends to the Pacific Ocean. The story of The Hudson's Bay Company runs a different course from that of the eastern provinces until the two converge shortly after the confederation of 1867. The Hudson's Bay Company, it will be remembered, received a charter from Charles II. For over a century its factors traded for furs with the Indians of the North, and most of its posts were on the shores of the Bay, or on the rivers draining into it. Then, in 1787, a rival association was formed at Montreal, and called itself the North West Fur Company. Its servants included many bold explorers, who pushed their way across the continent to the Pacific, and traded in western regions which the older company had never touched. After many years of strife and even of bloodshed the rival companies amalgamated into one body in 1821, the old name of the Hudson's Bay Company being retained. This organisation thus obtained monopoly rights over all the uncolonised area of Canada. Its boundary with Alaska was settled by a treaty between Great Britain and Russia in 1825; whilst treaties with the United States in 1818 and 1846 fixed the parallel 49° N as the border with that country.

The Hudson's Bay Company always discouraged colonisation within its dominions. Its interests lay in the fur trade, and the permanent settler drove off both the British Columbia and the Indian hunters who collected furs. Nevertheless colonists began to take possession of Vancouver Island from 1840 onwards, and in 1856 the discovery of gold on the Fraser River caused a rush.

of emigrants into what is now known as British Columbia. The Company had to recognise the accomplished fact, and in 1858 it handed over this territory to the Crown. British Columbia and Vancouver Island were united in 1866, and obtained admission as a province of the Dominion in 1871.

Meanwhile the intervening prairie region between the Great Lakes and the Rocky Mountains was becoming ripe for settlement. The Company could not for ever keep this fertile tract as a hunting ground. Some of its members tried to show that the land was of no use for anything else, but the facts were against them. In 1869 the Hudson's Bay Company ceased to be a territorial power, and made over its vast territories to the Crown, which placed them under the rule of the Dominion of Canada. As settlers multiplied the prairies became provinces of the Dominion; Manitoba in 1870, Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. The northern borders of these units were moved up to latitude  $60^{\circ}$  in 1912, leaving the Yukon and the North West Territory still in the lower status of territories (without local self-government) owing to lack of sufficient population. The taking over of Manitoba by the Dominion caused a revolt of Indians and half-breeds under Louis Riel in 1870. It was put down by Sir Garnet Wolseley and Riel made his escape. Fifteen years later he attempted another rising in the western prairies, and on this occasion he was captured and executed. Apart from this the great expansion of Canada has been peacefully accomplished.

Canada and the maritime provinces had in 1815 half-a-million inhabitants; in 1840,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions; and in 1921,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  millions. Railways have played a great part in this development, particularly the Canadian Pacific line which was opened throughout its entire length in 1886.

### (iii) *Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific*

By 1859, as we have seen, Australia was divided into six separate colonies, all except one in the enjoyment of responsible government. For the next forty years there were

no great political changes, but rather a steady development under free institutions from communities of scattered Englishmen into the makings of a new nation. The Australasian peoples. We may say that the nation was born with the federation of 1901, and that it came to manhood by virtue of the part it played in the war of 1914-18. The people of Australia and New Zealand are more exclusively of British stock than those of the other dominions. They are the typical products of British colonisation, the one in a continental, the other in an insular scene; and one may still hear old sailors use the expression "going down to the colonies" to mean a voyage to Sydney or Melbourne, as if no other colonies fully merited the description.

The expansion of Australia has taken place in a different manner from that of Canada. In the latter, settlement began in the Maritime and St. Lawrence provinces, then again in the far west in Vancouver and British Columbia, and finally in the gap of the central prairies along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The United States in the south and the arctic climate in the north have caused Canadian population to gather in a long narrow belt, with the railways as the determining factor in its organisation. In Australia railways have played a smaller and the sea a larger part. Each colony grew inland from a separate nucleus upon the coast, a town which became its capital—Sydney, Brisbane, Adelaide, Melbourne, Perth, with Hobart filling the same office for the island of Tasmania. This has caused Australian population to fall into three well-defined categories: first the urban people of the coast capitals, densely packed in a small area, and carrying on mercantile and manufacturing activities; next, the inhabitants of an agricultural belt, producing foodstuffs for the towns and for export; and thirdly, the owners and tenders of the great flocks of sheep, thinly spread over the vast interior. In addition, miners of various kinds have become numerous in modern times as gold and other minerals have been ever more extensively worked.

From the outset there were owners of land who purchased their freeholds for agricultural purposes, and squatters who occupied large districts without permanent rights for grazing purposes. The purchase-money became a land fund for carrying out public works and assisting emigration. As population increased the squatters were pushed farther into the interior, although many of them became rich enough to purchase their holdings. This inward pressure has brought into use many areas formerly considered valueless and now rendered habitable by the boring of artesian wells; so that the Australian deserts, strictly so called, have been reduced to small dimensions.

In its social life Australia has gone through three well marked phases. The convict settlements, with their military discipline, state rationing, gang-labour, and long roll of executions and floggings, were examples of the communism now being tried on a vaster scale in Russia. After transportation was ended there was a reaction to the extreme of individual liberty and enterprise, the *laissez-faire* ideal of England in the mid-nineteenth century. Later, from about 1880, there has been a strong movement for social reforms and the remedying of economic inequalities. In such matters as land laws for breaking up the great estates, woman suffrage, minimum wages, and old-age pensions, Australia and New Zealand have given the lead to the mother-country. Practical socialism, in fact, is farther advanced in them than in any other parts of the empire. It is supposed to kill initiative and enterprise, although this belief is hard to reconcile with the record of the armies of the southern dominions.

The Australian states were long content to grow up without any sort of co-operation or comradeship between them. They had different laws, customs, tariffs and trade regulations, and even their railways were constructed on different gauges. Gradually, however, events brought it home to them that six govern-

ments in one country did not form an ideal arrangement, and that Australians must pull together if they wished their interests to be safeguarded. The chief disturbing factors were the advance of French and German power in the Pacific and the desire of Asia's crowded millions for new lands in which to settle. It has always been an Australian belief that once the Asiatic is admitted to the country the hold of the white man upon it is doomed. Anxiety arising from these causes impelled the Australian states to consider the question of federating as the Canadians had done. In 1888-9, when there was a scare about the inadequacy of the national defences, the matter became prominent. But mutual jealousies delayed an agreement for another ten years. Finally, the act establishing the Australian Commonwealth passed the British Parliament in 1900, and came into force on January 1st, 1901, the first day of the twentieth century.

The Commonwealth government consists of a governor-general appointed by the Crown, a cabinet of ministers, and two elected chambers called the Senate and the House of Representatives. In the Senate there are an equal number of members from each state, but in the lower house they are proportioned to population, which gives New South Wales and Victoria the chief share of the seats. The principle of responsible government is, of course, observed, the governor-general choosing his ministers from the party having a majority in the House of Representatives. For local affairs the six states retain their own original governments. Federation has been a great boon to Australia, which has rapidly taken rank as one of the countries with a voice in world affairs. It was followed by the organisation of a national army and of a small navy which played a swift and decisive part in the opening moves of the war of 1914. The population in 1921 was  $5\frac{1}{2}$  millions, and its present rate of increase is about twenty per cent. every ten years.

New Zealand made rapid progress in the period following the grant of responsible government and the settlement of

the Maori troubles. The latter were ended by 1870, and thenceforward for twenty years there was a large flow of emigrants from the mother country. Like New Zealand. Australia, New Zealand has adopted an advanced programme of social legislation. Its development has been on similar lines although on a smaller scale—expansion inland from widely separated towns upon the coast. Originally these towns were the centres of provincial governments, but this arrangement was cancelled in 1876, and the central government was given the whole authority. New Zealand is therefore not a federation but a unitary state. In 1907 it was given the rank of a dominion. The population in 1921 was over  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions.

The islands of the Pacific Ocean have become important during the last hundred years not only for their commodities but also for their strategic value in an age of competitive empire-building. We have mentioned that Cook visited Tahiti in the Society Islands (so called in order to commemorate the fact that the Royal Society sent out the expedition). This was in 1769, and for many years it led to no further result. Then in 1797 members of the London Missionary Society appeared in the group. The natives received them kindly, seemed grateful for their instruction, and in 1836 asked to be admitted to the British Empire. But the colonial office, then under Lord Glenelg, refused. It was in a timid and unenterprising mood, and just at that time was disallowing D'Urban's conquest in South Africa and striving to prohibit the colonisation of Victoria. In the Society Islands the French stepped in and took possession, so that our opportunity was permanently lost. Similarly France in 1853 hoisted her flag in New Caledonia, and has since used it as a convict station, much to the disgust of the Australians.

The Fiji group contain two large and several small islands inhabited by a people akin to the Maoris of New Zealand. As in the latter country, private adventurers went there without authority, and their doings created trouble with the natives. This

compelled Great Britain to take control in 1874, when the islands became a crown colony. The step was as much in the interest of the natives as of the settlers, for British rule has secured fairer treatment for the Fijians than they would have obtained from irresponsible traders. A similar situation was set up in the New Hebrides by British and French merchants and missionaries. When it seemed likely that we should give way to the French the Australians became very indignant, for they considered that French power in the Pacific was a threat to their interests. Ultimately a solution was found in a joint rule or condominium by representatives of both powers, established in 1906.

The German Empire, consolidated by its victory over France in 1870, essayed to become a colonial power in the years which followed. A German merchant New Guinea company established posts in Eastern New Guinea and Samoa. Guinea, where Australians were beginning also to claim an interest. In 1883 Queensland, without the permission of the home government, seized the country. The act was disavowed, and three years later an Anglo-German treaty partitioned the disputed area, giving the northern part to Germany. At the same time the Germans also obtained the Bismarck Archipelago, the northern Solomon Islands and three smaller groups. By similar means they took possession in 1899 of the two largest islands of the Samoa group, the United States taking a third.

On the outbreak of war in 1914 Australian forces captured German New Guinea, the Bismarcks and Solomons, whilst the New Zealanders took Samoa. The Japanese in the same way obtained the smaller Pacific islands of Germany, whose flag thus disappeared from that ocean. The captured colonies were allotted to the victors in 1919 by mandates from the League of Nations. Eastern New Guinea is now called Papua, and is administered as territory of the Australian Commonwealth.

Capture of  
German  
colonies, 1914.



(iv) *South Africa*

By the year 1854, as we have shown, South Africa had shaped itself into two British colonies and two Boer republics. The Boers had trekked northwards in order to escape from British jurisdiction. At first they appeared to have done so successfully, but in the latter half of the century British expansion caught them up and encircled them, raising afresh all the old problems of the coexistence of two different nations in one country.

At first there was a possibility that South Africa might be united without bloodshed. From 1854 to 1859 the Sir G. Grey's governor of the Cape was Sir George Grey, governorship. who had already ruled successfully over South Australia and New Zealand. He had a plan for the federation of South Africa, and the Free State Boers at least were by no means hostile to the proposal. But the home government, having laid down their responsibilities north of the Orange River, would not agree to take them up again, and the project was dropped.

Responsible government, in fact, was essential before South Africa could be unified. The imperial government Responsible was still obliged to maintain regular troops in government. the country at the expense of the home taxpayer. It therefore kept a tight hold upon South African policy and sought to check schemes of expansion. Expansion nevertheless took place. Missionaries and traders pushed northwards through Bechuanaland, to the west of the Boer republics. The Boers tried to bar this movement, and the pioneers claimed government support. At length the home authorities gave notice that the Cape Colony must accept responsibility for the consequences of its own growth. The regular troops were withdrawn or their expenses charged to the colony, and in 1872 responsible government was established. The change, which had been so ardently desired in Canada and Australia, was unwelcome to a large number of people at the Cape. Natal, smaller and more isolated, did not become self-governing until 1893.

Of the Boer republics, the Orange Free State enjoyed a quieter career than its neighbour. Troubles with the powerful tribe of Basutos were solved by the The Orange allotment to the latter of the definite area Free State. since called Basutoland, where the natives live under the rule of their own chiefs and white men are not allowed to settle. The discovery of diamonds at Kimberley in 1871 led to the definition of the Free State's western border, the Kimberley region becoming part of British Bechuana-land. After this the Free State settled down to nearly thirty years of peace and good relations with the British.

The Transvaal was less happy. Its trekkers spread themselves so thinly over a vast area that an effective government became almost impossible. The Annexation of Transvaal Boer in fact had little affection for the Transvaal, a government of any sort, even of his own 1877. choosing. His ideal was rather to establish himself alone in a wilderness where he might live untroubled by the world. The republic was consequently a feeble edifice likely to collapse at the first blow. In 1876-7 the blow was threatened by the warlike power of the Zulus, who had remained quiet in their own country since their defeat in 1838. Under their new king Cetewayo they now became aggressive once more. If they had successfully invaded the Transvaal the movement would have been the signal for a general rising of black against white throughout South Africa. To avert it Lord Beaconsfield, the British prime minister, determined to annex the Transvaal and undertake its defence against the Zulus. In 1877 Sir Theophilus Shepstone hoisted the British flag at Pretoria, the Boers making no resistance and seeming to be relieved at this solution of their troubles.

Sir Bartle Frere, the governor of Cape Colony, next dealt with the Zulus. He sent a demand to Cetewayo requiring him to disband his army. The king refused. The Zulu and a British force under Lord Chelmsford War. invaded Zululand in 1879. Part of this force was surrounded and massacred almost to the last man at Isandhlwana,

and the victorious Zulus were only prevented from sweeping through Natal by the heroic stand of two officers and a handful of men at Rorke's Drift. Six months later Lord Chelmsford again entered Zululand and routed Cetewayo at Ulundi. Zululand became a protectorate, and was fully annexed in 1887.

The breaking of the Zulu power changed the sentiments of the Transvaal Boers, who now began to hanker after independence again. Beaconsfield's administration had not fulfilled its promise to grant them responsible government. Mr. Gladstone, the opposition leader, made speeches declaring that the annexation was unjust and ought to be reversed. The Boers therefore counted on him as an ally. When, however, he became prime minister in 1880, he showed no sign of restoring independence to the Transvaal. At the close of that year, therefore, the Transvaalers rose under the leadership of Paul Kruger, one of the original trekkers of 1836. In February, 1881, they defeated Sir George Colley at Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill. Gladstone then suddenly changed his mind and made peace, and the Transvaal was reorganized as the South African Republic with Kruger as president.

Once more South Africa had returned to its old form of two colonies and two republics; but irresistible changes now set in to disturb the arrangement. The Transvaalers were still possessed with the restless trekking spirit. They sought to expand westwards into Bechuanaland and eastwards into Zululand, and the British government turned them back on each occasion. Finally their encirclement was completed by the British occupation of Rhodesia on their northern border. This was the country of the Matabele and the Mashonas, a land rich in agricultural and mining possibilities. In 1888 Cecil Rhodes, the leading man in Cape Colony, sent agents to treat with the Matabele king for the admission of settlers; and in the following year he formed the British South Africa Company, commonly called the Chartered Company, for the exploitation of the region. The Company acted with

great energy. Within a few years it had established settlements, built a railway up from the Cape, and crushed a Matabele rising.

The Boers looked on with increasing disgust, for they had marked down Matabeleland as their own. In the Transvaal itself they were no longer the only white Gold and the inhabitants. About 1886 prospectors found Uitlanders. rich gold mines in the hills called the Witwatersrand, south of Pretoria. The Boers were incapable of scientific mining, and a crowd of British and other intruders rushed in to develop this wealth. The gold, unlike the nuggets of Ballarat, was embedded in hard rock, and needed expensive machinery for its extraction. Wealthy companies were therefore formed, and Cecil Rhodes became a leading proprietor. By 1899 the mining population—the Uitlanders, as they were called—equalled the Boer farmers in numbers, and the mining capital of Johannesburg became the largest town in South Africa. The Uitlanders soon complained of bad treatment. They paid the greater part of the country's taxation, and were allowed no votes or other rights of citizenship. The Boer on his side argued that since they came as uninvited guests they had no ground of complaint—if they did not like their welcome they might stay away.

Matters were in this explosive state when in 1895-6 the Uitlanders of Johannesburg formed a conspiracy to overturn the Transvaal government and expel The Jameson Kruger. Rhodes was a party to the plot, Raid. and arranged that Dr. Jameson with a British force from Rhodesia should cross the border and assist the revolutionaries. At the last moment the Johannesburg conspirators hesitated, and their rising failed to come off. But Jameson carried out his raid, penetrated far into the Transvaal, and was then surrounded and captured (Jan. 1896). The whole proceeding was indefensible, for Jameson and Rhodes were British officials of high rank—Rhodes was prime minister of Cape Colony—and the British Empire was at peace with the Transvaal. The raid was thus a crime as well as a blunder, and its effect was to set the whole world

against us, and to drive the Orange Free State to throw in its lot with the Transvaal.

Kruger maintained his unyielding tone in the Uitlander dispute, spent large sums in arms and munitions, and prepared very thoroughly to fight. A last  
 South African War, 1899-1902. negotiation failed, and in October, 1899, the two republics declared war upon Great Britain.

Opinion is even now divided upon the responsibility for the conflict. One side argues that the mine-owners promoted it for their own benefit, the other that Kruger had determined to drive the British from South Africa. There is evidence for both views, and both may be true. However that may be, either side realised that the contest would be final and decisive, and that the result must be complete victory or complete defeat.

At the outset the Boers were successful, invading British territory upon all sides and repulsing efforts to drive them back. Then in 1900 the tide turned. The Boer sieges of Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking all failed, and Lord Roberts entered the Free State. He occupied Bloemfontein in March, and then pushed on into the Transvaal, taking Johannesburg and Pretoria in May and June. The government proclaimed the annexation of both republics, and a London newspaper announced on its poster, "End of the War." The war, however, endured for two more years owing to the vast area of South Africa and the difficulty of hunting down commandos of mounted men. Australasians, South Africans and Canadians all served in this later stage, and the Boer forces finally surrendered in May, 1902, to an army representing the whole empire.

By the terms of peace the Boers acknowledged British sovereignty, but there the conquest ended. The imperial  
 Union of South Africa. government did all in its power to reorganise South Africa on the principle of the equality of both the white nationalities. It was intended to develop the institutions of the Transvaal and the Free State through all the three stages of administration by nominated officials, representative government, and

responsible government. But in the end the middle stage was omitted, and responsible government was granted in 1907. It was a concession, five years after the firing of the last shot, which seemed generous to the verge of rashness; but it was one which we have had no cause to regret, for it paved the way for united South Africa to become a dominion of the empire, a source of strength rather than weakness. The Boer generals Botha and Smuts, having fought to the last, loyally accepted the result of the war, and devoted themselves to the service of their country in peace. South Africa was economically one unit—its agriculture, mines, railways and native population knew no artificial frontier divisions. Wise men therefore recognised that one government would be better than four. In 1910 the four self-governing units agreed to surrender their rights to a central authority, and the Union of South Africa became an accomplished fact after seventy years of disunion and strife. General Botha became the first prime minister, to be succeeded, on his death in 1919, by General Smuts. When the great war began in 1914 there was a rising by a minority of the Boers. Botha put it down with South African forces, which afterwards conquered German South West Africa and assisted in the campaigns in East Africa and France. After 1899 it may be said that British policy in South Africa, in the past vacillating and insincere, took a turn for the better and achieved its greatest imperial success.

#### IMPORTANT DATES

- 1867. British North America Act creating Dominion of Canada.
- 1869. Hudson's Bay Company surrenders its lands to Canada.
- 1874. Annexation of Fiji Islands.
- 1877. Annexation of the Transvaal.
- 1879. Zulu War.
- 1880-1. First Boer War: independence of the Transvaal.
- 1886. Completion of Canadian Pacific Railway.
- 1887. First Colonial (afterwards Imperial) Conference.

1889. Foundation of Rhodesia.

1895-6. Jameson Raid.

1899-1902. South African War : annexation of the Boer republics.

1901. The Commonwealth of Australia.

1907. New Zealand created a Dominion.

1910. The Union of South Africa.

1914. Capture of German Colonies.

## CHAPTER III

### THE DEPENDENT EMPIRE

#### (i) *India*

In our last chapter upon Indian affairs (Part III, Ch. V) the story was carried forward to the conclusion of the Marquis Wellesley's rule in 1805. Wellesley, The Company's by a series of successful wars, had doubled last phase. the area of British jurisdiction in India. He had done so without the full consent and approval of the East India Company, which still clung to commercial ideals and disliked the responsibility of governing large territories. Wellesley's successors were therefore enjoined to pursue a cautious policy of non-intervention in native affairs, and for a time the rate of expansion slackened. Yet expansion was steadily forced upon the British by the course of events, and India could not settle down to a stable condition until British power reached up to the natural mountain frontiers of the country, and until also the native military forces within the country had been taught that it was useless to oppose themselves to the British peace. For fifty years, therefore, there were wars to be fought in India, until the above-named objects had been finally accomplished. Those fifty years were also the last stage in the great Company's life. In 1813 its charter was expiring, and it obtained a twenty years' renewal from parliament only on condition that it threw open the trade of India to private merchants. It still retained the monopoly of the tea trade with China. In 1833 it had to seek another renewal. This time the Company's trading activities were



entirely abolished, and it existed until its end in 1858 as an organisation for the government of India, paying the shareholders' dividends out of Indian taxation.

From 1814 to 1823 the Marquis of Hastings was governor-general. In his first years he had to make war upon the Gurkhas of Nepal, fighting mountaineers who were in the habit of plundering the plains below them. The Gurkhas made a stiff resistance which aroused between them and the British a mutual respect. Finally they ceded the Simla district and retained their independence in Nepal. The peace thus arranged on this frontier has endured unbroken for over a century, the Gurkha warriors finding an outlet for their energy in service in the Indian army. In central India one more campaign remained to be fought for the establishment of order. Wellesley's subsidiary alliances and the consequent disbandment of native armies had thrown out of employment a large number of professional soldiers. These men formed themselves into robber bands called the Pindaris, secretly patronised by the Mahratta chiefs. In 1817 Hastings moved against the Pindaris, and at once the Mahrattas broke into their last insurrection. But the campaign went against them, and in 1818 they had to confess defeat. Poona and its district were added to the Bombay presidency, and the Mahratta princes were placed under strict control. At the same time the chiefs of Rajputana voluntarily acknowledged British protection. The last of Hastings' wars began in 1823. The kingdom of Burma to the east had long been hostile and aggressive. Its treatment of British merchants now became intolerable, and a war lasting from 1823 to 1826 resulted in the cession to Britain of the three provinces of Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim. We may here look forward to the ultimate fate of Burma. Similar circumstances caused a second war in 1851-2, and the cession of Pegu, containing the port of Rangoon. Continued Burmese hostility led to a third and last war in 1885-6, when the whole remainder of the kingdom was annexed.

After 1818 the Company was supreme throughout central, southern and eastern India, but the north-west frontier remained in an unsatisfactory condition. The The north-  
 Afghans, who had so often in the past invaded west frontier.  
 India, held the mountain passes; and between them and the British dominions lay the two independent states of Sind and the Punjab, occupying between them the basin of the Indus and its tributaries. There was not, perhaps, much danger now to be feared from the Afghans, but behind them lay the incalculable power of Russia, steadily advancing her hold upon central Asia. It may be admitted at this date that the might of Russia was largely an unsubstantial bogey wherewith Russia's neighbours allowed themselves to be frightened. But her friends and foes alike took it seriously throughout the nineteenth century until the bubble was pricked in the war of 1914-18; and British India, in common with the rest of the world, believed sincerely in the Russian menace on the north-west frontier.

To counter this threat Lord Auckland in 1839 decided upon an adventure. He espoused the cause of Shah Shuja, a pretender to the Afghan throne, and sent an Afghan War,  
 army to instal him in place of Dost Mohammed, 1839-42.  
 the reigning Amir. The object was not to conquer Afghanistan but to set up a prince who would favour British interests against those of Russia. It soon appeared, however, that the British bayonets which had placed Shah Shuja on the throne must remain to keep him there. For two years therefore the army occupied Kabul and Kandahar whilst the Afghan warriors became increasingly restive and trouble was obviously brewing. At length Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Mohammed, took up arms; the British political officer was murdered at a conference; and the commander of the Kabul garrison agreed to evacuate the country on promise of an unmolested march through the passes. The Afghan chiefs did not keep the pact. Whilst the column of 4,000 troops and 12,000 camp-followers struggled through the snow-clad hills in December, 1841, the mountaineers assailed it on all sides and destroyed it literally to the last

man. On January 13, 1842, Dr. Brydon, the sole survivor, reached the fort of Jalalabad and told the story of the tragedy. New British forces marched into Afghanistan and inflicted defeats upon the chiefs. But Shah Shuja had been murdered, and there was nothing really to be done but to withdraw. Dost Mohammed again mounted the throne, and the undertaking came to an end. The fact that no Russian invasion followed showed that it had been needless.

Sind lay upon the road from India to the southern Afghan passes. Its chiefs had been vassals of the Amir, but were "Peccavi." now required to yield allegiance to the Company. In 1843 they resisted, and Sir Charles Napier conquered the country by the victory of Miani. He had some misgivings about the justice of the action, and expressed them in the punning announcement of his success by the single word "Peccavi."

In the Punjab, the country of the upper Indus and its four great tributaries, a strong native power had arisen since the beginning of the nineteenth century. **Conquest of the Punjab.** The Sikhs had been moulded into a nation by their great chief Ranjit Singh, who had extended his power at the expense of his native neighbours but had kept ever on good terms with the British. He died in 1839, and the Punjab fell a prey to factions headed by the chiefs of the army. The British lost prestige in the Afghan disaster, and to the Sikh soldiers the time seemed ripe to repeat the old tradition of a conquering army sweeping through India from the north-west. They had disciplined regiments, heavy artillery, and belief in their destiny. In 1845 they crossed the Sutlej into British India. Sir Hugh Gough met them with inferior forces, and suffered terrible losses in a succession of pitched battles. In 1846 he won the decisive victory of Sobraon, and entered Lahore, the Sikh capital. The British government then proclaimed a protectorate and tried to rule the country by that means. The experiment was unsuccessful. The Sikh army assembled again, and in 1848-9 commenced a new war. At the battle of Gujrat Gough finally destroyed it; and Lord

Dalhousie, the new governor-general annexed the Punjab outright in 1849. Under the rule of Sir Henry and Sir John Lawrence it became in a few years a loyal and orderly province.

Dalhousie's rule began and ended with annexations. He was convinced that the people of India were better off under British governors than under their own Annexations princes, and he lost no opportunity of putting and discontent his belief into practice. The custom of the country was that a childless ruler might adopt an heir not of his own blood. Dalhousie refused to recognise it, asserting instead the doctrine of "lapse," i.e. that such territories lapsed to the Company. In this way he annexed five small states and also the considerable possessions of the Mahratta family of the Bhonsla. The last-named became the Central Provinces. Finally he dealt in 1856 with the kingdom of Oudh. Wellesley had reduced its size in 1801, but its kings still ruled the remainder from their capital at Lucknow. Their government was a scandal—greedy, oppressive, and incompetent. Dalhousie, declaring it an offence in the sight of God and man, dethroned the last king and annexed the country. In other ways his rule was a time of rapid change. The scientific civilisation of the nineteenth century began to make its appearance in India in the guise of railways, telegraphs and sanitary reforms. These things gave deep offence because they clashed with the institutions of caste. The army did not escape unwelcome changes. High-caste sepoys felt degraded by the obligation to serve overseas in the Burma war. Watchful eyes noticed also that among the British troops the losses of the Afghan and Sikh campaigns had not been made good, and that there had never before been so few British and so many native soldiers with the colours. A new rifle was issued, and with it a new cartridge, of paper greased with a suspicious substance which was rumoured to be a compound of cow's and pig's fat. The soldier had to bite off the end of the cartridge in order to pour the powder into the muzzle of his piece; and agitators declared that to taste these

fats degraded Hindu and Mohammedan alike. All these grievances together sapped the loyalty of the princes, the army, and the priests.

In 1857 the regiments of the Bengal army broke into sudden mutiny, just as Dalhousie had gone home and a Outbreak of the new governor-general, Lord Canning, had Mutiny, 1857. taken his place. The first outbreak was at Meerut on May 10. The sepoys murdered their officers and marched to Delhi. Delhi was the ancient capital of the Mogul empire, and the rebels found there an aged descendant of the great race which had once ruled India. They proclaimed him emperor and made the city the chief focus of the revolt. The movement spread down the Ganges valley. At Cawnpore the Nana Sahib, one of the dispossessed heirs of Dalhousie's time, took command and besieged a body of the British. He tempted them to lay down their arms on promise of a safe passage down the river. Then he killed the men as they were embarking, and detained the women and children. Later, on the approach of a rescue party, he murdered these unfortunates and cast their bodies into a well. In Oudh the native army joined the rebellion, and besieged a small British force under Sir Henry Lawrence in the residency of Lucknow. Sir John Lawrence took prompt action in the Punjab. He disarmed the Bengal regiments there, relied upon the Sikhs to preserve order, and gathered a force to help in the capture of Delhi. The troops of some of the native states of central India rebelled, but those of the Madras and Bombay presidencies remained loyal.

The Indian Mutiny was broken by the capture of Delhi and the relief of Lucknow. Throughout the summer of its 1857 a tiny British force blockaded Delhi from suppression. its camp upon the Ridge outside. Then, in September, it stormed the gates and the houses street by street. The conquest cost many British lives, but it smashed the rebellion on its own chosen ground. At Lucknow Sir Henry Lawrence was killed, and the residency nearly fell. Sir Henry Havelock led a relief force which

fought its way in, only to be besieged in its turn. Sir Colin Campbell appeared with a larger army in November, and effected a final deliverance. Sir Hugh Rose then led a campaign against the central Indian revolt, which was not stamped out until the close of 1858. Many captured rebels were executed, but many were pardoned by Lord Canning, who earned some unpopularity by his clemency. Nana Sahib, the felon of Cawnpore, disappeared, and his fate remains a mystery.

The end of the East India Company's long career was announced in 1858. An Act of that year transferred all its powers and responsibilities to the Crown, India under which henceforward ruled India through a the Crown. viceroy with executive and legislative councils. A council of India under the Secretary of State for that country took the place of the old Board of Control at Whitehall. The royal proclamation announcing these changes at Allahabad promised an amnesty to the remaining rebels, with the exception of murderers, and disavowed the doctrine of lapse. Since that date there have been no more annexations of native states, and the princes of India have been the strongest supporters of British rule. Queen Victoria took the title of Empress of India in 1877.

For forty years after the Mutiny India remained tranquil and prosperity increased. A splendidly efficient civil service gradually took the place of the old officers Progress since of the Company, themselves the founders of Mutiny. no mean tradition. It became the object of the British rulers of India to stamp out injustice, to develop the resources of the country, to fight disease and famine, and to improve the conditions of life for all. The civilian officer was commonly addressed by the complimentary title of "Protector of the poor," and he made it his ambition to deserve that description. In many regions the peasant learned for the first time that government could be honest and impartial. Famines still occurred with the failure of the expected rainfall; but railways and relief work made their mortality ever less severe. Population increased

rapidly and large scale manufactures were begun. Native education, inaugurated by the Company, made great strides, throwing up a professional class of lawyers, doctors, journalists and civil servants trained upon European methods. In the end this progress engendered discontent, for a generation arose which had never known worse conditions, took all benefits for granted, and demanded more political liberty than prudence could allow. As the example of Egypt has also shown, ingratitude is the reward of enlightened government, the true "white man's burden" which England in modern times has so unhesitatingly taken up.

Before turning to the latest period in Indian life, when unrest took the place of tranquillity, it is necessary to give The frontiers: brief attention to the question of the frontiers. Afghanistan. On the east the conquest of Burma was completed in 1885-6. It was important because the Burmese borders marched with those of the new French protectorate of Tongking. On the north the long line of the Himalayas formed an effective barrier to any possible invasion. On the north-west the Afghan problem and the Russian menace behind it still remained to give alarm. In 1878 relations between Britain and Russia were strained, and war was possible. The Amir Shere Ali received a Russian envoy at his court, and denied admission to an Englishman. This caused the government of India to declare war upon him. British forces invaded Afghanistan, Shere Ali fled into Russian territory and died there in 1879, and the British found themselves saddled with the task of setting up a government. As we had found forty years earlier, it was easier to depose than to create an Amir. After two years of confusion and a great deal of desperate fighting the British troops again withdrew, leaving Abdurrahman, a nephew of Shere Ali, upon the throne. He reigned until 1901, excluding Russian and all other foreign influence from his country. Out of these events developed the British protectorate over Baluchistan, commanding the southern mountain passes. The tribesmen of the frontier ranges have never properly submitted either to British or Afghan

control, and military expeditions against them have been and still are necessary from time to time.

As the nineteenth century gave place to the twentieth, India began to grow disturbed. Western education gave rise to a demand for political liberties in place of the benevolently autocratic government which obtained. The rise of Japan to the status of a great power encouraged the belief that all Asiatics were competent to manage their own affairs, in spite of the fact that there is no racial affinity between the Indian and the Japanese. Indian unrest has recurred in waves of intensity, with comparatively quiet periods between. It has shown itself in seditious talk in the press and on the platform, assassination of officials, boycotts, riots, and occasionally in open rebellion. British governments have admitted that political reforms are due, and have adopted a combined policy of concession to the moderate leaders and repression of the extremists. Acts of 1892, 1909 and 1915 extended the size of the viceroy's and the provincial councils, and admitted Indian members to them. In 1917-18 Lord Chelmsford, the viceroy, and Mr. Montagu, the secretary of state, drew up a report on Indian political affairs, which bids fair to be as important as that of Lord Durham in the history of the white dominions.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report recommended the gradual introduction of self-governing institutions, spread over a long period in order to allow time for the necessary political training. Accordingly the imperial parliament passed in 1919 the Government of India Act. This sets up a two-chamber legislature for British India, the majority of its members being elected by various classes of the community. This body has partial but not complete control over legislation, for the viceroy may override its opinions if he sees fit. In addition there are elected provincial councils for the eight leading provinces. Here there is a measure of responsible government, for on certain "transferred" subjects the governor acts on the advice of ministers responsible to

The reformed  
government  
of 1919.



the elected members. Other subjects are "reserved," and still at the governor's discretion, but it will be possible to transpose them from the one class to the other as the stability of responsible government increases. So begins a great experiment in adapting European liberties to a non-European race. Its success is not yet assured, although the omens are already more encouraging than pessimists predicted. After a great wave of agitation by the extremists in 1920-1, a campaign for "non-co-operation" with the new government, there appears to have succeeded a calmer period in which the reforms may have a chance to take root. Their inauguration proves at least that the British Empire is not the mere tyranny which its enemies have so often depicted.

### (ii) *Egypt and the Sudan*

British interests in Egypt date from the first half of the nineteenth century, when the "overland" route became the means of rapid transport for passengers and mails between England and India. This route necessitated two sea passages, one through the Mediterranean, the other through the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, with a connecting land journey across the Isthmus of Suez. The time occupied in 1845 was (to Bombay) about thirty days. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 reduced the duration of the passage, and enabled it to be made throughout in one steamer. Napoleon, as we have seen, had much earlier sought to use Egypt as a stepping-stone to India. From remote ages it has been from its geographical position either a barrier or a gateway between Europe and the East, and its importance in this respect has increased with the development of modern transport.

Egypt had been from the early sixteenth century a province of the Turkish Empire. In the early nineteenth century its pasha, Mehemet Ali, made himself virtually independent of the Sultan, and received the title of Khedive, with a hereditary succession

in his family. Ismail, the fourth Khedive (1863-79), pursued such a course that he made European control inevitable. He kept magnificent state, and attempted to expand Egypt into an empire stretching southwards to the equator. To do so he crushed his people with taxation, forced labour, and all kinds of extortion, and raised huge loans from French and British investors. In 1876 he confessed himself unable to pay the interest, and three years later the European representatives induced the Sultan of Turkey to depose him in favour of his son Tewfik.

French and British administrators now attempted to control the government of Egypt. Before long they were confronted with a revolt of the Egyptian army under Arabi Pasha. They had therefore *The task of* reform.

to use force or give up their attempt. At this juncture (1882) France suddenly withdrew from the business, leaving England to act alone. A British fleet bombarded and destroyed the forts of Alexandria, and a British army landed and defeated Arabi at Tel-el-Kebir. It was now the object of the British to regenerate the Khedive's government and to withdraw from Egypt as speedily as possible. The thing was more easily said than done; for when British officials began to investigate the methods of Egyptian pashas in the various departments of the state, they found an appalling medley of tyranny and corruption which it would obviously need years to reform. The whole system rested on the oppression of the peasant, who was a serf driven to forced labour by the lash. An additional complication arose from the revolt of the Sudanese provinces under a religious leader named the Mahdi. The Egyptian army was such a hopeless rabble that it was a hard task to defend the southern frontier of Egypt itself, and there could be no thought for many years of reconquering the Sudan. Sir Evelyn Baring, afterwards Lord Cromer, was appointed British agent and consul-general in 1883. He held office until 1907, and during those twenty-four years effected a complete transformation in Egyptian life.

In 1884 the Gladstone ministry decided that British

forces should not be used for the reconquest of the Sudan, and that since those of Egypt were not yet efficient the country must be abandoned to the Mahdi. The Sudan : It sent out General Gordon to withdraw the Gordon and Kitchener. remaining garrisons to Egypt. Gordon, who did not believe in the policy of withdrawal, was cut off and besieged by the Mahdists in Khartum. He could only be extricated by a British expedition, and when the government yielded to popular pressure and sent one it was too late. On January 27, 1885, Khartum fell and Gordon was killed. The Mahdi and his successor the Khalifa were left to work their will in the Sudan, and their rule was such that in twelve years the country was well on the way to depopulation. In 1896 the Egyptian army and finances had been reformed, and the imperialist movement had gained ground in England. The Salisbury government therefore decided upon a reconquest of the Sudan, and commissioned Sir Herbert Kitchener, commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, to carry out the task. In 1896-8 Kitchener succeeded, breaking the Khalifa's power at the decisive battle of Omdurman in September of the latter year. The Sudan has since recovered some of its population and prosperity as a joint Anglo-Egyptian dependency under British officials.

Meanwhile the British regeneration of Egypt proceeded, until the tyranny of former times was forgotten. As a result a nationalist agitation broke out with the object of obtaining independence. It is easy for rulers with Russian or Prussian ideals of government to cope with sedition. It is very difficult for British officials to do so. If they are firm they lay themselves open to the charge of tyranny, which of all things they hate ; if they are tolerant they are thought to be weak, and the trouble increases. So in Egypt unrest became ever more serious until the outbreak of the great war of 1914. One handicap, it is true, had been removed in 1904 by our agreement with France. That country had always shown jealousy of our position in Egypt, but she

then recognised it in return for a similar recognition of her interest in Morocco. The war stilled the Egyptian agitation for a time, for disorders could not be permitted in a country so vitally important to the Allies. After the peace renewed sedition began in 1919. Britain was faced with the alternatives of ruling by military force or granting independence. She chose the latter, and Egypt is now to be made a self-governing kingdom with an imitation of a European constitution, subject to certain arrangements for the safeguarding of our interests in the Suez Canal.

### (iii) *Britain in Tropical Africa*

The map of Africa shows on the west coast four distinct British territories—the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria, together with the ex-German colony of South West Africa, now affiliated to the Union of South Africa. West Africa.

The Gambia, the oldest and smallest of these units, originated in a fort built at the river-mouth by some English merchants in 1618. There have, however, been gaps in its continuous occupation. On the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807 it lost much of its importance, but gradually developed a traffic in the vegetable products of the country. The colony of the Gambia now occupies the estuary, whilst the river-basin inland as far as the limit of navigation is a British protectorate. The Gambia.

Sierra Leone was founded by a society of humane persons in 1787 as a refuge for liberated slaves—the "Willyfoss niggers" as they called themselves, after the name of their protector William Wilberforce. At first a mere coast settlement, Sierra Leone has extended inland until it now occupies a much larger area than the Gambia. Sierra Leone.

The nucleus of the Gold Coast Colony was to be found in the slaving and trading posts founded in the seventeenth century by the English, Dutch and Danes on the ruins of the Portuguese dominion in the same region. The abolition of the slave trade very nearly Gold Coast and Ashanti.

led to the abandonment of these posts, which were left for some years to the rule of a company of merchants. Then, in 1843, the British government took control. It was found difficult to enforce regulations owing to the fact that the British, Dutch and Danish forts were intermingled instead of occupying distinct areas. The British accordingly bought out the Danes in 1850 and the Dutch in 1871, and consolidated the whole coast under one government. This extension of orderly rule enraged the powerful king of Ashanti in the interior. He attacked the British, and was defeated in 1874. Our forces evacuated Ashanti on receiving a promise of good behaviour; but in 1895-6 further trouble resulted in the establishment of a protectorate. The further protectorate of the Northern Territories was added soon afterwards.

The great colony and protectorate of Nigeria, containing about sixteen million people, had two distinct origins. In 1861 the King of Lagos, on the coast, voluntarily ceded his district to Great Britain, and it remained for many years a separate British colony. Then, about 1879, the trade of the Niger delta became important, and shortly afterwards there began a general scramble of the European powers for African territories. The Berlin Conference of 1884-5 allotted the Niger delta to Britain, the Cameroons and Togoland to Germany, and the upper Niger and part of the Congo to France. To work the Niger trade the British formed a chartered company called the Royal Niger Company. This body surrendered its powers to the Crown in 1900. In the early years of the twentieth century there was much fighting in the inland parts of Nigeria, where the power of the great chiefs had to be broken. After that was accomplished they were retained as local rulers under British supervision, a system which has given excellent results. In the war of 1914 the German colonies in West Africa fell to Britain and France, the latter obtaining the larger share. They now form parts of Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and French West and Equatorial Africa.

The British West African possessions, as the map shows, are all surrounded by French territory—they are what are known as *enclaves*. The French, extending inland from the Senegal River, made in the nineteenth century more rapid progress than did the British, and so were able to claim the hinterlands and the coastline between the British holdings. The *entente cordiale* of 1904 also made West African concessions to France in exchange for her surrender of fishing rights in Newfoundland.

In East and Central Africa our interests are of more recent origin. When Egyptian power in the Sudan collapsed in 1881-3 a large area was left derelict. East Africa France and Italy occupied parts of the Red and Zanzibar Sea coast, whilst Great Britain took possession of part of Somaliland in 1884, on account of its strategic importance on the route to the east. A few years later the coast of East Africa between Somaliland and the Portuguese Mozambique became important. It belonged after a vague fashion to the Sultan of Zanzibar. The British government obtained concessions from him, and the British East Africa Company was formed to work them in 1888. At the same time German agents were busy making treaties with native chiefs, whose titles to the lands which they signed away were by no means clear. Finally in 1890 Britain and Germany concluded an agreement defining their possessions as British and German East Africa respectively. Our protectorate over Zanzibar and our cession of Heligoland to Germany were parts of this bargain.

The British East Africa Company found itself obliged to take over the protectorate of Uganda in the interior. Its responsibilities proved too great for its resources, and it surrendered its charter to the Uganda and Tanganyika Crown in 1895. During the great war German East Africa was conquered after a determined resistance. It is now mandated to Britain under the name of the Tanganyika Territory. British East Africa has been renamed Kenya Colony.

The journeys of David Livingstone and other explorers and missionaries extended British influence far into central Africa. This led to the establishment of the Nyasaland Protectorate, whose boundaries were settled by an agreement with Portugal in 1891.

#### (iv) *Britain in the Far East*

British naval supremacy in the Napoleonic war led to the occupation of the most valuable parts of the Dutch East Indies. At the peace of 1814 we restored The Malay States. Java, the richest prize in that region, but retained certain neighbouring posts. In the following years there was a further reshuffling of these possessions, with the result that in 1826 Great Britain held Singapore, Malacca and Penang, which were placed under a common government as the Straits Settlements. The remaining states of the Malay Peninsula continued under their native rulers, often in a condition of warfare and anarchy. From 1874 they came gradually under British protection, with nothing but advantage to themselves. Four of these units now form the Federated Malay States, with a common administration, whilst five others are separate protectorates.

The great island of Borneo had belonged from early days to the Dutch sphere of colonization, but until the nineteenth century there was very little attempt at occupation by Europeans. In 1842 a private Borneo and Sarawak Englishman, Sir James Brooke, made himself rajah of Sarawak, which he and his descendants have ruled with great success to the present day. Next, in 1846, Great Britain obtained the island of Labuan, off the Borneo coast, for use as a base against piracy, then rife in eastern waters. Finally in 1881 the British North Borneo Company took possession of an area about the size of Scotland, where it is responsible for the administration, and leases the ground to planters of tobacco and other commodities. The greater part of Borneo is still under Dutch jurisdiction.

Until 1833, as we have seen, the East India Company

retained the monopoly of the tea trade with China, which was carried on at the port of Canton. In the year named the trade was thrown open to private merchants. Disputes soon arose with the Chinese authorities, who objected to the introduction of opium from India in exchange for the tea. This led to a war with China in 1839-42. At its conclusion Great Britain obtained the cession of the island of Hong Kong as a place of trade. Hong Kong at the time was a poor and unimportant place, but it has since developed into a first-class entrepot of traffic owing to the fact that merchants have been more secure under the British flag than under the Chinese at Canton.

### IMPORTANT DATES

- 1817-18. Last Mahratta War.
- 1839-42. First Afghan War.
- 1841. Cession of Hong Kong.
- 1843. Conquest of Sind.
- 1845-9. Sikh Wars and annexation of Punjab.
- 1856. Annexation of Oudh.
- 1857-8. Indian Mutiny : abolition of East India Company.
- 1869. Completion of Suez Canal.
- 1874. Beginning of Malay protectorates.
- 1878-80. Second and Third Afghan Wars.
- 1881. Revolt of the Mahdi in the Sudan.  
British North Borneo Company.
- 1882. British control of *Egypt begins*.
- 1884-5. Berlin Conference for partition of Africa.
- 1885. Death of Gordon at Khartum.
- 1886. Royal Niger Company.
- 1888. British East Africa Company.
- 1890. Anglo-German Treaty dividing East Africa.
- 1896-8. Reconquest of the Sudan.
- 1917-18. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report.
- 1919. Government of India Act.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE EMPIRE OF TO-DAY.

THE British Empire of to-day, whilst tracing its origins back through long centuries, is assuming a shape which has been determined by the events of the past twenty years. This change of form, and of the underlying ideal, is nothing exceptional. It has been always going on: there has scarcely ever been a time when a student could look back over the record of the past generation and declare that he could see no change in the conception of what the empire meant during that period. And so long as these changes take place with goodwill and harmony we have no need to be alarmed by them, for history teaches that when a nation becomes rigidly fixed in its political institutions it is in danger of stagnation and decay. The movement of the world is ever providing new wine, and it is risky to confine it in old bottles.

So we have seen that during the nineteenth century there prevailed at the outset the mercantile theory of colonial subordination to the mother-country, whose colonial office sought by its agents to control every detail of colonial life. Then followed the colonial demand for more liberty, its concession in the form of responsible government, and the general pessimistic impression that the colonies would soon part company with their parent, who would not find it worth while to fight against the process. In reaction against this counsel of despair there grew up the new imperialism of the 'seventies and 'eighties, which reached its culmination in the South African war of 1899-1902. Patriotism revived throughout the empire, with its conviction of

Phases in  
the imperial  
idea.

a common standard of life and a common destiny, and also of a common trusteeship for the weaker peoples whom circumstances had placed under British care. Men symbolized the empire as a mother and her family, the children looking to her for guidance whilst setting up houses of their own. To strengthen the bond they proposed imperial federation, the setting up of an imperial government in which, whilst the voice of the colonies would be heard, that of the mother-country would decide the issue.

This conception could not last, for it is the nature of children to grow up. Small units became large, colonies merged into dominions; and in each of these dominions there developed a particular national type differing from that of the mother-country and differing from those of the other dominions. Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, began to regard themselves as separate nations, each with a large British common denominator, yet each with factors peculiar to itself. The children of the empire were growing up; and in the great war we may say that they completed the process, and came to manhood. The result was that the old mother-and-daughter conception of the empire had to give way to a new one of an alliance of adult and equal nations pursuing a common course without any difference of rank between them. Had not a much more artificial League of Nations that would be the most fitting designation of what the British Empire is now seeking to become.

The working mechanism of the British League is the rapid communication between statesmen furnished by the mail steamer and the electric telegraph, supplemented by the periodical meetings of the Imperial Conference which now tend to be more frequent than in the past. The chief subjects of discussion and the development of new ideas have been imperial trade, defence and the control of foreign policy. Some outstanding points in the history of the recent period will illustrate the progress that has been made in the handling of these matters.

In Great Britain, as we have seen, there was in the middle of the nineteenth century a rapid and complete Free trade and collapse of the policy of protection in all its protection. branches. In 1842 the fiscal system was strongly protectionist; in 1852 it was completely free trading. With the protective duties disappeared the preference formerly given to goods of colonial production over those of a foreign origin. Since Britain became a free-trade country, therefore, she has been unable to give any special favour to the trade of her colonies. The colonies, on the other hand, as they became self-governing generally leaned towards protection. They themselves produced an abundance of foodstuffs and much raw material. They aspired to develop manufactures of their own, and in order to do so they imposed protective duties upon manufactured goods from without. Amongst other goods they taxed those from the mother-country. This the latter would never have permitted under the old colonial system, but under the free self-government of the modern period no protest was made. Then, under the stimulus of the new imperialism of the late nineteenth century, the colonies began to give a preference to British goods over those of foreigners, *i.e.* while still taxing them they did so at a lower rate. Canada led the way with a very substantial preference; and at the Ottawa Conference of 1894 a general system of imperial preference was suggested, without result.

So matters continued until after the South African war. In that conflict the empire had shown its unity upon the battlefield, and the time seemed ripe to give some concrete form to a very general sentiment that the units of the British world should close their ranks against foreign competitors. Imperial federation, for reasons already stated, was not practicable. But Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, for eight years Colonial Secretary, thought that a system of imperial preference should be introduced. In order to be free to speak his mind he resigned his position in the cabinet, and preached his doctrine in a series of speeches which attracted world-

Chamberlain  
and imperial  
preference.

wide attention. In their final form the proposals amounted to this : the mother-country must impose protective duties on foreign goods entering her ports, so that she might be in a position to favour colonial goods by admitting them free or at a lower rate. But the difficulty arose when the classes of goods affected came to be considered. They might be manufactures, raw materials, or foodstuffs. A preference on manufactures would not have been worth much to the colonies, since their export of those goods was small. A preference on raw materials meant taxing those from foreign countries. But, Britain's position as a great manufacturing and exporting country depended upon an unrestricted supply of raw material at the cheapest possible rates ; without that she could not live against foreign competition. So the question resolved itself into that of a preference upon foodstuffs. This meant that food would undoubtedly be dearer in the British Isles, and it rested with the British voter to say whether he was prepared to make the sacrifice. There has been no general election fought upon this issue alone ; it has always been intermingled with others. But it is nevertheless true that in the three successive general elections of 1906, 1910 (January) and 1910 (December), the party which advocated preferential duties was defeated, and at the Imperial Conference of 1907 the spokesmen of the mother-country declared definitely against the policy. Since those days other matters have demanded greater attention, and the question of imperial preference has receded into the background ; but it is by no means a dead issue, and the future may witness its active revival. It is above all things a problem upon which the citizen must not allow himself to be misled by party cries, but must base his judgment upon a study of history and the ways of mankind.

Imperial defence became in the modern period a question upon which there was absolute need for all to work together. The advance of Russia in central Asia appeared always as a threat to British defence. India. In the 'eighties there was a general scramble for

Africa, in which Britain, France, Germany and Italy partitioned almost the entire continent among them. Next it seemed as though there would be a similar scramble for shares of the decaying empire of China, but this process did not go so far as some expected. Yet all the powers sought to entrench themselves in strong positions in the Far East, and Japan arose as a new competitor in the race for sea power, trade and colonies. In the islands of the Pacific all the great nations, with Germany in the forefront, made haste to create claims and secure naval and commercial bases. The Suez Canal had already added to the problems of imperial defence, and the approaching completion of the Panama Canal threatened new complications. The world, in fact, was growing smaller, and the armed peoples were being forced into ever closer contact with one another. The British dominions realised that since they claimed to be nations they must take up the responsibilities of nationhood.

On one great frontier of the empire there was an absence of armaments and a reasonable security for peace. On the Forces of the lakes of North America, between the United States and Canada, either country abstained from launching warships, whilst the long border from thence to the Pacific was guarded only by policemen and customs officers. Canada nevertheless maintained a militia which was capable of expansion into a great army in time of need. South Africa, after the Union of 1910, did the like, as did the Australian Commonwealth and New Zealand. These unprofessional citizen forces excited the derision of regular soldiers in Germany but, as the event was to show, their contempt was misplaced. Towards naval defence Australia made small money contributions from 1888. After the formation of the Commonwealth she decided to construct a fleet of her own. By the opening of the great war it was sufficiently advanced to deal decisive blows against the German Pacific colonies. The arrangements for the action of these forces formed a considerable part of the business discussed at the Imperial Conference of 1911,

the last held before the war. To the influence of that body must be ascribed much of the unanimity with which the empire faced the conflict.

Important as were the armed forces, still more so was the policy of the empire towards foreign powers, which would dictate the use of those forces. Until Foreign the great war this foreign policy was entirely policy. in the hands of the government of Great Britain, although the Conference of 1911 passed a resolution that the dominions should be admitted to a share in its direction. In spite of passing irritation at the handling of certain subjects, they were well content to leave the direction of such affairs in London; and in the colonial sphere British foreign policy justified itself by some considerable triumphs in the years before 1914.

Our relations with France during the latter part of the nineteenth century were not happy. France, after her defeat by Germany in 1870, renewed her in- Anglo French terest in colonial expansion, to compensate hostility. for what she had lost in Europe. In many parts of the world her interests seemed to clash with those of Great Britain, and a period of bad feeling was the result. It was accentuated by the exclusive British control of Egypt after 1882, by the reconquest of the Sudan in 1898, which brought British troops across the path of a French expedition south of Khartoum, and by the South African war. During the latter conflict feeling in France against Great Britain rose to its height. It was largely due to sentimental reasons, but was none the less dangerous on that account. French soldiers served in the Boer armies; and President Kruger, arriving at Marseilles as a refugee, was rapturously welcomed. Fortunately statesmen kept their heads, and the storm was weathered without a breach of the peace.

In a few years the whole prospect changed. In 1904 statesmen on either side reached a general agreement on the subjects of dispute. France recognized our position in Egypt in return for a corresponding recognition of her

claims on Morocco. In Newfoundland, West Africa, Siam and Madagascar quarrels of ancient and modern standing were settled on principles of fair give and take. A complete change from hostility to friendship on the part of the two peoples ensued. King Edward VII. visited Paris in 1906. He had always been personally popular in the French capital, and his state visit now aroused great enthusiasm. The return visit of the French President to London in 1908 completed the new union which, although not publicly proclaimed as an alliance, came very near to it under the name of the *entente cordiale*.

France was the ally of Russia, and friendship with one led naturally to better relations with the other. It was deferred by the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5, in which British sympathies were largely with Japan. A defensive alliance between ourselves and Japan had in fact existed since 1902. After the signing of peace in 1905 an all-round improvement of relations took place. Britain abandoned her suspicions of Russian designs upon India, and an agreement on Asiatic questions was concluded in 1907. Its effect was to bring Russia within the scope of the Anglo-French entente.

All this, coupled with the care bestowed upon the navy, tended to make things snug for the great tempest of 1914.

Had our foreign relations been in the condition of ten years earlier, Germany might well have triumphed at the first onslaught. The dominions could not therefore complain of the British handling of the empire's foreign policy.

Nor did they seek to do so; all took up the quarrel instantly and with all their might. But during the war they expended blood and treasure as freely as did any of the full-fledged nations, and it was natural that they should claim ere its close the rights as well as the responsibilities of nationhood. The Imperial Conference of 1917 passed a resolution containing the following phrases: "that any readjustment of constitutional relations, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control

of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important portion of the same, should recognise the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important affairs of common Imperial concern." The speeches of dominion statesmen had all trended in the same direction. They did not criticize the policy of the home government which had preceded the war, and they avowed that our entry into the conflict was just and necessary; but they did declare that since war was so terrible an undertaking the dominions would not be bound to participate in future struggles unless they had a voice in the policy which might lead to them.

The home government on its side was anxious to share its heavy responsibility, and the peace negotiations of 1919 gave an opportunity for introducing the new practice of the empire. The treaties with Germany and our other enemies were discussed and signed by the dominion representatives as well as those of Great Britain, and were ratified separately by the dominion parliaments. Moreover, the dominions became separate members of the League of Nations, and three of them accepted mandates from it for the administration of former German colonies.

In 1919 therefore the dominions were participating in full equality with the mother-country in the direction of imperial affairs. This was rendered practicable by the gathering of all their leading statesmen in Europe at the peace conference. But the dominion premiers had their own governments to attend to, and had ere long to disperse to the ends of the earth. The problem then arose of how the imperial destinies were to be ruled in time of peace. There must obviously be one centre of decision and action which, for many reasons, had to be in London. Yet the dominion premiers must normally reside in their own countries, and consultation

Raised status  
of the  
dominions.

The problem of  
the future.



by telegraph is even yet a poor substitute for personal conference. Diplomatic action has frequently to be taken without the slightest delay, and to bring together an Imperial Conference requires some months' notice. So the problem remains at the present date (July, 1923). The principle of dominion participation in imperial affairs is conceded, but the means of carrying it into full effect have still to be devised.

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